



EXPLORING EMPLOYEES' ATTITUDES TOWARDS EMPLOYMENT EQUITY FROM A SOCIAL IDENTITY PERSPECTIVE

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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At many instances this year, I thought about this particular moment, even dreamt about it. Finally, it is a dream come true- a dream that helped me persevere until the end. Looking back, this year has definitely been one of the most challenging years, yet it has also been incredibly rewarding.

I am not originally from South Africa and this dissertation was an eye opener to issues I only read from books. It made me realise that there is more than just the beautiful mountains, sea and wine lands, something deeper, which can be traced back to a history of misery; a sad reality that affects the lives of South Africans every day. Many of these people did not even live in the apartheid era, but they constantly face its sequel in one way or the other. As I write this acknowledgement, the country is mourning for the loss of the Father of the nation. It is indeed a loss which is felt with heavy hearts around the world. This dissertation was written in the spirit of contributing to knowledge that can, in one way or the other, assist in furthering one of the values that Nelson Mandela preached, lived and died for; that is equality amongst racial and gender groups.

There are many names that come to mind when I look back on this year. Their support has undoubtedly helped me throughout this journey in one way or the other. I would like to extend my appreciation towards the NRF Scholarship for their financial support and the entire department of Organisational Psychology for their guidance and support, as well as my Masters classmates.

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ABSTRACT

Orientation: Employees from different racial and gender groups in South Africa tend to differ in their attitudes towards Employment Equity (EE) strategies, particularly, towards preferential treatment in terms of EE. Negative attitudes towards preferential treatment in turn may act as contributing factors to demographic changes towards a more representative workforce being slow in organisations.

Research purpose: The objective of the study was to explore factors that influence this difference in employees' attitudes from a Social Identity Theory (SIT) perspective.

Motivation for the study: Demographic transformation in line with the vision of the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998 to recalibrate the status imbalance between racial and gender groups is happening in local organisations. However, statistics have shown that these changes are very slow, particularly in the private sector. South Africa's history of racial and gender inequality, has created high and low status groups. SIT provides a framework for exploring the dynamics between high and low status groups by considering in-group and out-group favouritism. Based on its theoretical tenets, SIT was used to predict the attitudes of employees from different racial and gender group towards preferential treatment in this study. Three components of SIT were considered in addition to the group's status, namely identification with the in-group, perceived stability as well as perceived legitimacy of the status hierarchy between the groups. Using SIT as a framework, it was hypothesized that members of higher status groups are less willing than those from lower status group to embrace preferential treatment strategies. These attitudes were expected to be associated with member's strong in-group identification. It was also hypothesized that members from lower status groups are less willing to embrace preferential treatment than members of higher status groups when the status hierarchy is perceived as stable and legitimate. The reverse was expected when the status hierarchy is perceived as unstable and illegitimate. The results of this research indicate the attitudes of employees' from different racial and gender groups towards preferential treatment. These findings may hence assist employers when planning and incorporating preferential treatment into their HR strategies.

Research design, approach and method: A cross-sectional study, using a descriptive design, was conducted. Convenience sampling was used to collect data from 396 employees in local organisations, most of which were qualified professionals. After removing 132 participants due to incomplete data and a low response rate that could potentially introduce bias in the results, descriptive statistics, the non-parametric Mann Whitney U-test, Pearson Product Moment correlations and t-tests were used to analyse the responses of the final sample ($n = 264$).

Main findings: The results confirmed that white and male South Africans are perceived as the higher status groups, while black and female South Africans are perceived as the lower status groups. Participants of both gender and racial groups opposed to rather than supported preferential treatment in organisations. However, the descriptive statistics showed that black, and surprisingly male employees, were more in favour of preferential treatment than white and female employees. This was the case even when the status hierarchy was perceived as stable and legitimate, as well as unstable and illegitimate. However the lack of significant statistical differences between the groups indicate that black and white as well as male and female had the same attitudes towards preferential treatment irrespective of the perceived stability and legitimacy of the status hierarchy. In general, no significant correlation was found between strong in-group identification and employees' attitudes towards preferential treatment across all groups assessed in this research.

Practical/managerial implications: The findings of this research suggest that preferential treatment at the professional level may not be the best strategy to re-dress past inequalities. However, given that black and female employees are still under-represented in organisations, preferential treatment is required to re-dress past inequalities. Employers may therefore consider strategies such as training workshops and opportunities to express anxieties related to preferential treatment in order to facilitate the implementation of preferential treatment in organisations.

Contribution/value-add: This study shows the importance of understanding factors that affect employees from different groups to differ in their attitudes towards EE strategies, particularly

preferential treatment. The results provide useful insights that contribute to understand why demographic changes in organisations might be slow.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

“For decades, institutionalised racism has been applied by the apartheid state to effect the most brutal forms of social engineering known to humanity...no one is born hating another person because of the colour of his skin, or his background, or his religion. People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally to the human heart than it's opposite.”

- Nelson Mandela (as cited in Romany, 1996, p. 857)

South Africa's history is tainted with inequality and discrimination on grounds of race and gender. Today this legacy is evidenced, amongst others, in the unequal representation of different gender and racial groups in the workplace. According to a mid-year population estimate conducted in 2011 by Statistics South Africa (2012), 80% of the South African population is classified as black (of indigenous descent), 9% as coloured (of mixed descent), 9% as white and 2% as Indian. The South African population also consists of slightly more women (51.7%), than men (48.2%). Yet, according to the Gender Statistics report (2011) within each population group a smaller proportion of women than men and a larger proportion of white than black South Africans are employed, indicating that black and female South Africans are under-represented in the workplace.

In order to re-dress past discrimination and the unequal representation of certain parts of the population, the South African Parliament introduced the Employment Equity Act no 55 in 1998. It serves as a legal framework for affirmative action and has the aims of redressing past injustices inflicted on previously disadvantaged groups, promoting equal opportunity in organisations through the elimination of unfair discrimination and ensuring the equitable representation of previously disadvantaged groups across all levels and professions in the workforce. According to the Act, any company with more than 50 employees and whose turnover threshold exceeds those as stipulated in schedule 4 of the Act must tailor their Human Resource (HR) processes such as employee acquisition, maintenance, development and retention in accordance to the Act. Thus, during the past decade many South African organisations have engaged in transformation processes to re-dress past inequalities. For example, large South African organisations such as

Old Mutual, Sanlam and MMI Holdings to name a few, have been adapting their HR processes, particularly recruitment and selection, to support the government's EE strategies (Oosthuizen & Naidoo, 2010; Sanlam Employment Equity Estimates, 2009). Sanlam for example has increased its number of African employees over the past years. Figure 1 shows the percentage of African and white male South Africans at Sanlam in 2009 and 2012. Figure 2 provides similar information for female South Africans.

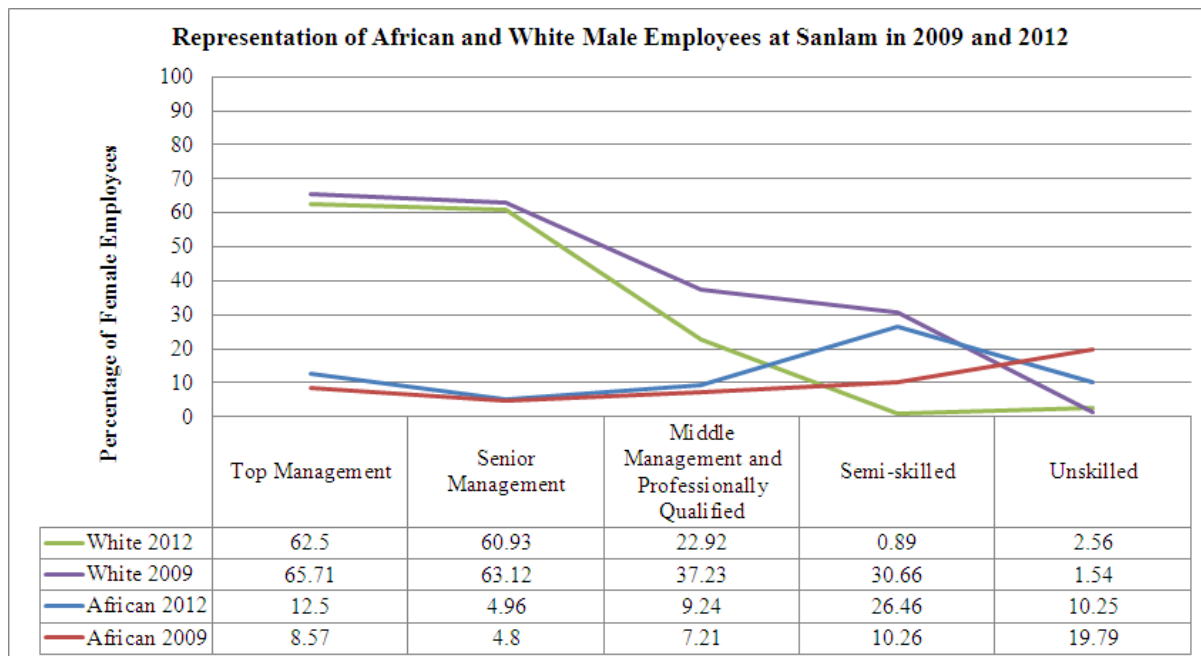


Figure 1. Comparison of the percentage of African and white male employees employed at Sanlam in 2009 and 2012.

Source: Adapted from Sanlam Sustainability Reported 2009 & 2012.

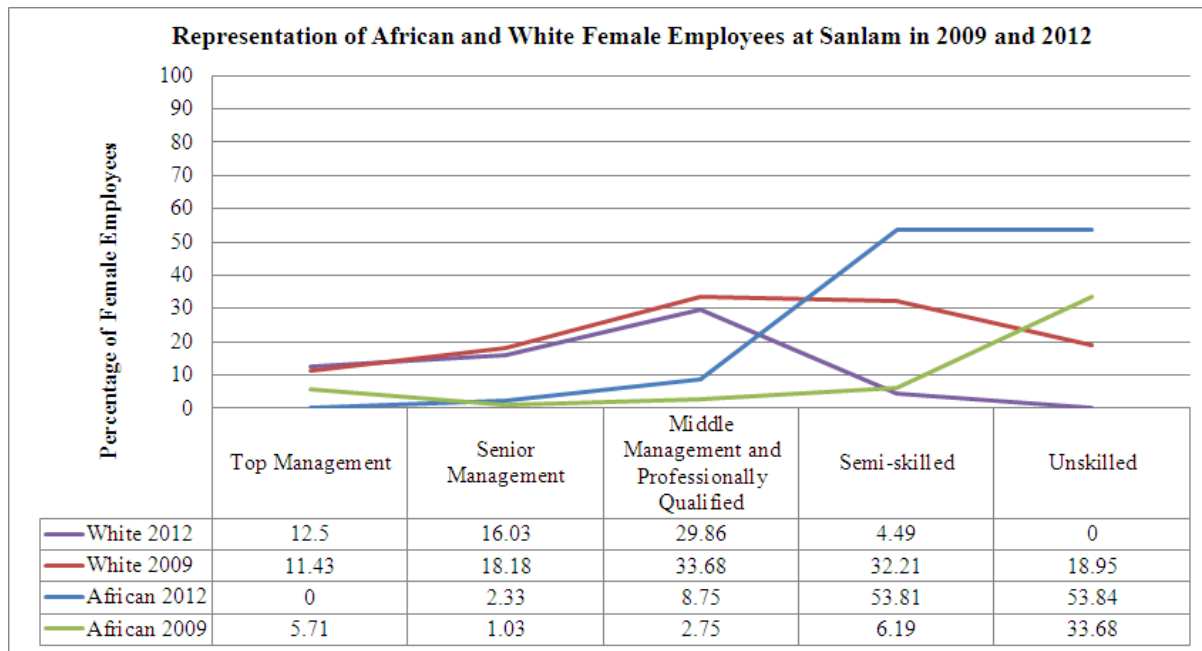


Figure 2. Comparison of the percentage of African and white female employees employed at Sanlam in 2009 and 2012.

Source: Adapted from Sanlam Sustainability Reported 2009 & 2012.

Figure 1 and 2 show that demographic changes, that is the change in the actual number of employees, are happening in South Africans organisations such as Sanlam. The number of African employees has increased in the workplace, while in some instances the number of white employees has dropped. Although transformation is happening, and is noticeable at the semi-skilled and unskilled levels, white employees, predominantly white males, are still more represented in the workplace, particularly in the top, senior and middle management levels.

The Commission of Employment Equity (CEE) 2011-2012 report concluded that transformation in organisations is taking place very slowly. This is evidenced by the fact that white males are still the dominant group at the various management levels (see Table 1) and that a much larger percentage of white individuals have been recruited and promoted at mid and senior management level in 2011-2012 in the private sector (see Table 2) than would have been expected given that white South Africans constitute about 9% of the South African population (Statistics South Africa, 2011).

Table 1

The Total Number of Employees as per Race and Gender (Including Employees with Disabilities) in Top Management, Senior Management and Qualified Professionals for Employers in the Private Sector

Occupational Level	Male				Female				Foreign National		
	African	Coloured	Indian	White	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Male	Female	Total
Top Management	1332	453	998	10101	512	225	263	1768	659	72	16 383
	8.1%	2.8%	6.1%	61.7%	3.1%	1.4%	1.6%	10.8%	4.0%	0.4%	100.0%
Senior Management	5 312	2 484	4 116	28 388	2 242	1 294	1 594	9 281	1 304	296	56 311
	9.4%	4.4%	7.3%	50.4%	4.0%	2.3%	2.8%	16.5%	2.3%	0.5%	100.0%
Professionally Qualified and Mid-Management	30 322	11 932	15 099	76 938	18 044	9 308	9 698	41 972	3 265	1139	217 717
	13.9%	5.5 %	6.9%	35.0%	8.3%	4.3%	4.5%	19.3%	1.5%	0.5%	100.0%
Skilled and Junior	210 221	51 971	33 786	138 361	103 544	44 481	24 449	94 999	10 614	2 218	714 644
	29.4%	7.3%	4.7%	19.4%	14.5%	6.2%	3.4%	13.3%	1.5%	0.3%	100.0%
Semi-skilled	671 590	79 102	26 992	42 280	324 985	93 116	28 126	63 975	42 098	2 378	1 374 642
	48.9%	5.8%	2.0%	3.1%	23.6%	6.8%	2.0%	4.7%	3.1%	0.2%	100.0%
Unskilled	421 173	36 273	5 342	5 924	231 785	41 396	2 849	2 411	28 226	3 442	778 821
	54.1%	4.7%	0.7%	0.8%	29.8%	5.3%	0.4%	0.3%	3.6%	0.4%	100.0%

Source: Adapted from the Commission of Employment Equity 2011-2012 Annual Report (p. 43)

Table 2

(a) Workforce Profile of the Number of Recruited and Promoted Employees by Race and Gender at Mid-Management Level

Workforce movements	Male				Female				Foreign National		Total
	African	Coloured	Indian	White	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Male	Female	
Employees Recruited	1 316 16.6%	350 4.4%	492 6.2%	3 133 39.5%	795 10.0%	171 2.2%	254 3.2%	1 116 14.1%	247 3.1%	53 0.7%	7 927 100.0%
Employees Promoted	1 449 18.7%	425 5.5%	678 8.7%	2 335 30.1%	801 10.3%	227 2.9%	356 4.6%	1 213 15.6%	224 2.9%	60 0.8%	7 768 100.0%

(b) Workforce Profile of the Number of Recruited and Promoted Employees by Race and Gender at Senior Management Level

Workforce movements	Male				Female				Foreign National		Total
	African	Coloured	Indian	White	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Male	Female	
Employees Recruited	7 559 18.5%	1 987 4.9%	2 279 5.6%	10 819 26.4%	6 577 16.1%	1 694 4.1%	1 873 4.6%	6 589 16.1%	1 075 2.6%	452 1.1%	40 904 100.0%
Employees Promoted	7 668 18.6%	3 909 9.5%	2 044 5.0%	7 551 18.3%	7 434 18.0%	3 633 8.8%	1 980 4.8%	6 402 15.5%	449 1.1%	222 0.5%	41 292 100.0%

The above statistics suggest that the legislative framework provided by the EE Act has not yet achieved the intended results. The CEE Annual Report 2011-2012 report also disclosed that none of the 16 local companies reviewed in 2006/2007 and followed up on in 2011/2012, were found to be equitable in terms of gender and race; only seven companies came close to this objective.

It could of course be argued that the slow pace at which transformation takes place is due to the fact that it takes time for previously disadvantaged individuals to gain the necessary experience to reach middle or senior management level and that those changes would thus naturally be slow. Contributing factors to the continued under-representation of female employees and employees from racial groups other than white could be slow employee turnover rates, thus a low number of available vacancies, or a lack of suitably qualified black professionals as a legacy of the apartheid era (Bhorat, Leibbrandt, Maziya, Van Der Berg, & Woodlands, 2001). Yet, this argument seems to hold little weight seeing that gender parity exists in the government sector as indicated by the CEE Annual Report 2011-2012. Black South Africans also have a dominant presence in the government sector, hence indicating that suitable female and black employees are available. It is thus likely that other factors contribute to the slow pace of demographic changes in the workplace. One of these could be a resistance to such changes and thus to employment equity by employees and management themselves. Booysen (2005) and Booysen (2007) remarked that factors such as a dominant white male organisational culture, a deficiency in leadership commitment, a lack of shared understanding about EE issues as well as white South Africans' fear of an insecure future, are contributing to slow demographic changes pertaining to EE in organisations. Further research conducted in South Africa supports the assumption that there is resistance towards changes in the demographic composition of the workforce by white employees, in particular (Booyesen, 2007; Dixon, Durrheim & Tredoux, 2007; Finchilescu & Dawes, 1998; Lewins, 2006). Some of the responses elicited during these studies indicated that white South Africans are anxious about an insecure future and as a consequence are unwilling to accept preferential treatments. Individuals from higher status groups often believe that preferences are being given to individuals because they were previously disadvantaged rather than based on merit (Eberhardt & Fiske, 1994).

A theoretical approach that is well suited to assist in explaining why these defence mechanisms to EE are likely to occur is Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Robinson, 1996; Tajfel, 1972; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1999; Turner & Reynolds, 2010). SIT posits that a threat to the status of a group member relates to a threat to his or her self-esteem. It is for that reason that individuals in high status groups may be less willing to embrace changes than low status group members. Thus SIT postulates that members of higher status groups tend to display resistance to change to maintain their positive social identity while those of lower status groups tend to favour them to enhance theirs (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner & Brown, 1978). SIT additionally suggests that there are factors which are likely to influence these attitudes, such as a person's identification with a particular group that they are a member of and his or her perceptions of the stability and legitimacy of the status hierarchy (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

To date, little research has considered how the attitudes of employees from different racial and gender groups could be a contributing factor to the slow demographic changes in South African organisations. Considering that the country continues to experience a socio-political imbalance between racial and gender groups, the purpose of this research is to explore factors that may be thwarting this transformation process from a social identity perspective, with a particular interest in employees' attitudes towards employment equity. Hence, this dissertation addresses the following question: Can SIT account for differences in South African employees' willingness to embrace preferential treatment in organisations in line with employment equity?

The dissertation starts with a review of relevant literature, including an overview of SIT and how it might be able to predict employees' resistance to preferential treatment as an EE strategy, which might explain why demographic changes in organisations are slow. The study's hypotheses are then provided, followed by the methods chapter which provides information about the sample, measuring instruments and procedure used in this research. In the results chapter, the psychometric properties of the scales used in this study are outlined and the results related to the testing of the hypotheses are described. These results are discussed in the last chapter of this dissertation, followed by a conclusion.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides background information about South Africa's history in order to contextualise the study and outline how the current workplace demographics came into being. Following this, the social identity approach is outlined. Finally, the chapter addresses how SIT relates to the construct of interest in this research, that is, employees' attitudes towards employment equity. Based on the literature review plausible hypotheses are being derived.

2.1 Racial and Gender Discrimination in South Africa

This section provides a brief insight into South Africa's recent history which helps to understand the origins of power-imbalance between white South Africans and other racial groups, particularly indigenous or black South Africans. The term 'black South Africans' include Africans, Coloured, Indian and Asian South Africans in this research. This section also looks at the power-imbalance between male and female South Africans.

2.1.1 Racial discrimination in South Africa.

Table 3 provides an overview of South Africa's colonisation and apartheid history. It illustrates that although racial segregation in South Africa began under the Dutch and British colonisation, apartheid, which was introduced as an official policy after the general election in 1948 formalised and legalised the segregation of members of different racial groups. South Africans were classified white, coloured/Asian and native African, with white citizens being considered as superior (Baldwin-Ragaven, London & Du Gruchy, 1999). Apartheid thus bequeathed white individuals with higher power and status whilst widening the already existing disparity and inequality between white South Africans and South Africans of other racial groups.

Table 3

Brief Timeline of South Africa's Colonisation and Apartheid History

Date	Description
1651	Dutch settled in South Africa. In 1756, they imported slaves from Malaysia, India and West Africa, marking the dominance of white individuals over people of colour.
1700s	Dutch farmers, called Boers, seized and inhabited the lands of the Bantu and Khoi people. To sustain themselves, the tribes had to work for the Boer farms.
1810s	Arrival of British missionaries in South Africa. The latter criticised the racist practices of the Boer farmers but the Boers retorted that they believed they were superior to the tribes.
1867	Diamond mining began in South Africa. Africans were oppressed to work under inhumane conditions and minimal wages.
1908	A constitutional convention established South Africa's independence from Britain. People of colour were given minimal right to vote and were prohibited from holding office.
1910s-1930s	Africans studying at missionary schools attempted to gain political power and overcome the rule of the white racial group. However, due to limited resources, their efforts to gain power were enfeebled. By 1939, less than 30% of Africans were formally educated and white citizens were earning five times more than Africans were.
1946	Over 75,000 African mine workers went on strike to protest against the unfair wage, which was twelve times less than the salary of white employees. Over 1000 employees were injured or killed.
1948	Election of the National Party and beginning of the implementation of the apartheid program. Voting rights were limited to white South Africans only.
1949	The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act prohibited inter-race marriage further and marked the differences and segregation between different racial groups.
1950	The stipulation of the Population Registration Act classified people into three racial groups: White, coloured and native. Classification was based on appearance, social acceptance and decent, speech, demeanor. For instance, section 1 of the Act defined a coloured person as "a person who is not white or native", a native was "a person who in fact is or is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa" and a white person is "who in appearance obviously is, but is generally accepted as a white person". Section 2 (a) of the Act further specifies that "in deciding whether any person is in appearance obviously a White person or not a White person within the meaning of the definition of 'White person' in subsection (1), his habits, education and speech and deportment and demeanor in general shall be taken into account". Under section (b) the Act specified that "it shall, in the absence of proof that any person who is not a Black, is generally accepted as a White person, be assumed that he is generally accepted as a coloured person." (Deborah, 2001). Furthermore, the Group Areas Act allocated each race to a particular geographical area.
1951	The Bantu Homelands Act declared African reserves as independent homelands and assigned each African to a designated homeland. Blacks were deprived of their South African citizenship and required passports to enter South Africa. All political rights were also restricted to their homelands.

Table 3. Continued

Date	Description
1952	The Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act forced all black individuals to carry identification booklets.
1953	The Preservation of Separate Amenities Act segregated municipal grounds such as public beaches, buses, hospitals, schools and even train station entrances and public benches. They were mostly reserved for white South Africans and were denoted by “white only” and “non-white” signboards. The Bantu Education Act gave the white government the power to rule over the education system. Non-white South Africans were not allowed to attend white universities and schools.
1980s	An international campaign to boycott South Africa was launched by government around the world. Black citizens entered forbidden white region in search of work. In the late 1980s, there was increasing pressure around the world to end apartheid in South Africa.
1991	The South African President F.W. de Klerk repealed the apartheid laws and ordered the drafting of a new constitution.
1993-1994	A multiracial government was approved. In 1994 the African National Congress represented South Africa's majority black population in the elections. Nelson Mandela, who was jailed for 27 years, was elected President.

Note. Information based on Allen (2005), Clark and Worger (2011), Liberation Struggle in South Africa (n.d), Lowenberg and Kaempfer (2000).

2.1.2 Gender discrimination in South Africa.

Hacker (1951) was one of the first people internationally to argue that women are treated as a lower status group in society based on her comparison of women's responses with African-American Negroes. Since then, many others have written about the phenomenon that women typically have lower status than men, for instance Burn (1996), Burn, Aboud and Moyles (2000) as well as Sidanius and Pratto (1999). In South Africa, although the Constitution of the Republic No 108 (1996) formally prohibits discrimination based on sex, gender discrimination still exists in society. In many instances, traditional practices have interfered with constitutional advances. These include traditional laws of inheritance, land ownership and polygamy (Finchilescu, 2006). Furthermore, discriminatory stereotypes such as characterising women as weak and emotional, as well as high rates of sexual and domestic violence in this country further enfeeble women's position in society.

Considering the salience of gender and racial differences during apartheid in South Africa, African women have been victims of double oppression. Only since the late 1970's African women started to become economically active (Seidman, 1993). The government provided incentives to encourage companies to relocate to rural and semi-rural areas. In so doing,

industries such as the textile industry, which previously only employed African men or non-African women, started to also employ African women. Nonetheless, women were paid a much lower salary than their male counterparts for the same job.

Over the years, South African women have tried to resist the oppression of men and achieve emancipation. For example, in the late 1990s, the African National Congress Women's League (ANWCL) strongly contested gender discrimination. In more than 500 towns and cities, women organised to press for equality amongst the sexes (Berger, 1992). A large impact of this mobilisation was observed in the 1994 election as South African females won eighty of the four hundred seats in the National Assembly. Although this event notably marked the access of women to political power in South Africa's National Assembly, the number of elected women was yet very low.

From no access to political power and economic empowerment to being more economically active and politically empowered today, the struggle of South African women to gain equality has come a long way. Nonetheless, the National Policy Framework has reported that women have been facing challenges to have access to equal employment chances and economical empowerment (Kornegay, 2000). This is supported by the recent statistical figures as outlined in Chapter 1. Women, as compared to men, are less represented in the work environment, particularly at top, senior and mid management level.

2.1.3 Re-dressing past inequalities in a post-apartheid South Africa.

After the eradication of apartheid in 1994, laws promoting racial and gender discrimination were repealed and new laws were stipulated to re-dress past inequalities. One of these new laws was the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998. The Act aimed at protecting designated groups who had previously been disadvantaged by injustices of apartheid. It includes the protection of women, black employees and disabled employees from unfair discrimination and biased decisions based on unfair grounds such as race, gender and sexual orientation. At the same time, the Act allowed for fair discrimination in favour of designated groups on the job market. The aim was to ensure that previously disadvantaged groups have an equitable representation in the workplace across all occupational levels.

One main aspect of employment equity is the preferential treatment of black South Africans and women (as well as individuals with disabilities) in hiring and recruitment processes. Preferential treatment has been rated as one of the issues which can potentially cause conflict amongst members of different racial groups and may be detrimental to racial reconciliation (Adam, 1997). Preferential treatment brings with it a potential loss in status and most importantly, job insecurity for white, and particularly white male South Africans. Yet, research has found little resistance amongst white-owned co-operations to incorporate EE into the HR practices such as recruitment and selection (Adam, 1997). One prefers to believe that EE is being practised by organisations in good faith to advance the objectives of the Act. Nonetheless, its practice remains deeply rooted in strong business politics; EE is a business strategy for many companies to have a more credible image on the market. According to Adam, white-owned firms have recognised the need of more black managers and employees to reach an expanding black market. With the rise of the black middle-class, a company whose employees' demography reflects its consumers is more likely to be accepted by the latter in contrast to one which does not. Employers are therefore encouraged to diversify their workforce and recruit employees from previously disadvantaged groups.

Despite the incentives for employers to promote EE in the workplace, the demographic changes pertaining to this transformation are slow in local organisations as shown in the first Chapter. The aim of this research was to explore factors that may be thwarting this transformation process from a social identity perspective. Hence, the following section provides an overview of this theoretical framework.

2.2 Social Identity Theory

Tajfel and Turner first introduced SIT in the 1970s with the aim of understanding the psychological rationale behind intergroup discrimination (Tajfel, 1979). Tajfel described this theory as being a conceptual tripod. Its first leg explains how the human impulse to seek a positive identity, which can assist in enhancing one's self-esteem, influences behaviour. The second leg of the theory looks at how this motivation to seek a positive identity relates to one's association with different groups in society. The third leg considers the psychological processes and tendencies that motivate the shift of one's identity from an individual to a group level, known as the identity continuum. The theory maintains that in societies people associate themselves with groups. They also tend to internalise these associations in order to

create a sense of belonging to a group and to be able to define themselves as members of that group. The social context is elemental in shaping how people perceive themselves and others around them. When experiencing a feeling of belonging to a particular group, group members tend to compare their own group with other groups and under certain circumstances would discriminate against other groups. SIT thus provides a framework to understanding inter-group relations in the social context within which they exist.

Since its introduction, SIT has inspired researchers and elicited a substantial body of research that has been applied in various settings, including the workplace, to provide an analytical framework in understanding and resolving social and organisational problems (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Bergami & Bagozzi, 2010; Van Knippenberg, 2001). In the following section, SIT will be outlined in detail. Following this the conceptual framework and hypotheses for this research will conclude the literature review.

2.2.1 The origins of SIT: The minimal group studies.

In an attempt to understand the conditions that trigger inter-group discrimination. Tajfel, Flamant, Billig and Bundy (1971) designed two experiments, in which they randomly assigned British schoolboys to groups based on arbitrary criteria. The group members had minimal contact and never met or interacted with each other prior to the experiments. These boys were then asked to assign points to anonymous members of their own group (in-group) and to members of the other group (out-group), but not to themselves. In this way an allocation of points based on self-interest was ruled out. In the first study the boys were allocated to one of two groups based on a coin toss. In the second study the boys were also randomly assigned to groups, but Tajfel et al. led the boys to believe that they had in fact been assigned on the basis of their preferences for paintings by Klee or Kandinsky. Tajfel et al. were interested to observe how the boys would distribute the points. The outcome of both studies revealed that the boys had a strong tendency to allocate more points to members of their own group than to members of the other group. Thus, Tajfel et al. (1971) concluded that the mere categorisation of individuals into groups was sufficient to lead to in-group favouritism. These experiments became known as the Minimal Group Studies (MGS).

Since Tajfel et al. (1971), several replications of the studies were conducted (Eg. Oaks & Turner, 1980; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1987). A few researchers criticised the observed effects of

MGS as being a potential result of respondents' reaction to demand characteristics. For instance, Berkowitz (1994) claimed that the laboratory settings and experimental conditions of studies that looked at in-group favouritism encouraged group members to favour their own group as they were aware that they were being assessed. In-group favouritism was noted even in studies where the participants did not know that they were being observed. For example, Brown (1978) carried out a real life study in a British aircraft engineering factory with three groups of workers: Toolroom, Development and Production, whereby the Toolroom department was the highest status group and the Production department was the lowest status group. Shop stewards from these departments were randomly selected to negotiate wage increases. The research showed that trade union representatives in the Toolroom department were prepared to take a £2 cut per week in order to create maximum difference and increase their competitive advantage over the other departments.

Through the MGS, Tajfel (1972) noted that individuals seem to engage in cognitive and motivational processes to associate themselves as members of a group. Tajfel and Turner (1979) formulated SIT as a framework which outlined these processes and their inter-play in order to explain the MGS results. The processes are presented in the following section.

2.2.2 Processes of SIT.

According to SIT, individuals categorise themselves into social groups and internalise these categorisations as part of their self-concept. An extension of SIT known as self-categorisation theory further explains the underlying processes or factors, according to which people categorise themselves into social groups (Hogg & McGarty, 1990).

Tajfel and Turner (1979) assumed that the aim of social categorisation was to acquire and establish a distinct and positively valued social identity. Tajfel (1972) defined social identity as an "individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership" (p. 31). Hence, social identity is an individual's sense of who he or she is when he or she is a member of the group. In his publication in 1978, Tajfel asserted that individuals' identities exist along a continuum: on one end lies their individual identity and on the other end their group identity. Every individual's self-concept is made up of multiple personal and social identities. The totality of

an individual's social identities is based on the social groups the individual belongs to (Abrams & Hogg, 1988).

To explain why individuals treat members of their own group differently to non-members Tajfel and Turner (1979) suggested an additional process which they called social comparison. According to SIT, after having categorised himself (or herself) as a member of a group, an individual compares himself (or herself) on valued dimensions such as power, status and wealth to members of the out-group to assess the perceived comparative social distinctiveness between the groups with the aim of acquiring positive distinctiveness. One possible reason that explains this behaviour is that individuals try to achieve a positive identity because it assists them in enhancing their self-esteem (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Hogg, 1990; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The term 'positive identity' refers to a desirable identity that adds value to an individual's self-concept and assists the person in evolving towards a more desired self (Levinson, 1986; Ramrajan, 2010). Therefore, by categorising themselves as a member of a group, individuals seek to achieve a positive identity to enhance their self-esteem.

Social systems are hierarchically stratified, assigning different groups to relatively different degree of power and status, such that the more dominant group can exert supremacy over subordinate groups (Fox & Giles, 1996; Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006). Inter-group comparison between two groups on valued social dimensions is likely to provide one group with more leverage and positive distinctiveness than the other group. Members of the higher status group experience more positive distinctiveness from inter-group comparison and are likely to have a positive social identity. On the other hand, inter-group comparison may not be positive for members of the disadvantaged group, thus they are more likely to have a negative social identity; that is, an identity which does not enhance their individual self-concept but on the contrary thwarts their progress towards a more desired self (Robinson, 1996; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Taylor & Brown, 1988).

The effects of favourable and unfavourable inter-group comparisons were shown in a study by Platow and his colleagues (Platow et al., 1999). They observed sport fans before and after six football games. They found that football fans contributed more to charity workers who supported the same team as them (thus favouring the in-group) than to charity workers who

supported other teams before the match. However, those fans whose team had lost the match contributed less. The study assumed that when the outcome of the inter-group comparison is unfavourable, group members become disengaged and identified less with their group. Hence, they were less willing to support other in-group members. This is one of the strategies that Tajfel and Turner (1979) assumed low status group members to take in an attempt to regain a positive social identity. An overview of these specific strategies outlined in SIT is presented in the following sections.

2.2.2.1 Social mobility.

Social mobility refers to an individual's strategy to enhance his or her individual social identity and self-esteem by leaving the low status group to join the high status group (Haslam, 2004; Turner, 1999). When the outcome of inter-group comparisons are not favourable, group members may change the way they feel about the group, or even attempt to leave the group (Breakwell, 1986). Whether or not an individual can make use of this strategy depends on whether group boundaries are permeable or non-permeable. Boundaries in this context refer to abstract social frontiers that demarcate high status groups from low status ones. Some boundaries are permeable such that it permits an individual to move from a lower to a higher status social group. For instance, a person can move from a low social status to a high social status through acquisition of wealth, marriage or education. However, some social boundaries are impermeable, that is, the mobility from a lower to a higher status group is not possible, as would be the case for an individual's mobility from a lower status racial (or gender) group to a higher status racial (or gender) group. Under these conditions, individuals are unable to enhance their self-esteem by moving between groups and hence resort to other strategies, namely social creativity or social competition.

2.2.2.2 Social creativity.

Social creativity is expressed in a variety of behaviours such as finding new social dimensions on which inter-group comparisons can be made (Haslam, 2004). Members of high and low status groups use different social creativity strategies to enhance their social identity as a group. When members of the lower status group perceive that their group status is unlikely to change and the inter-group comparison is unfavourable, they may favour the out-group, find new dimensions for group comparisons, change the values attributed to the in-group and engage in inter-group comparisons with other out-groups to find a more positive social identity (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). On the other hand, when the inter-group

comparison is favourable and their social identity is not threatened, members of higher status groups may engage in magnanimous behaviours such as public favouritism of the out-group, and benevolent donations. They at times empathise with members of lower status group while simultaneously engaging in covert and benign discrimination to ensure the continuity of their lower status (Platow et al, 1999). However, when their social identity is threatened, members of the higher status group tend to show strong in-group favouritism and may resort to more sinister forms of social creativity such as overt discriminatory sabotaging of members of lower status groups as an attempt to justify and maintain their higher group's status (Haslam, 2004).

2.2.2.3 Social competition.

Another strategy to enhance the group's social identity when permeability between group boundaries is not feasible is social competition. Social competition refers to the collective action by group members to change their group's status when they feel that their social identity is being threatened and the enhancement of their social identity is a possibility (Haslam, 2004). Social competition is usually used as the last resort to enhance the group's identity by members of the lower status group. It is a difficult strategy to realise as it requires minority groups to act collectively while the higher, more powerful status groups resist this attempt as they wish to preserve their privileged status (Milner, 1996). For instance, the apartheid struggle in South Africa is an example of such competition where previously disadvantaged groups, particularly black individuals, strived to enhance their social status while white individuals resisted this change.

This section has provided an overview of SIT, its processes and strategies. The extent to which individuals engage in social mobility, social creativity and social competition depends on a number of factors. Firstly, and as outlined above, these strategies are mainly utilised by individuals for whom the outcome of intergroup comparisons is unfavourable, thus for members of low status groups. The group's status (high versus low) thus plays a role in that high status group members are likely to resort to in-group favouritism and low status group members to social mobility, social creativity or social competition. Other factors are the extent to which an individual identifies with his or her group and whether or not he/she perceives the status hierarchy between groups as stable and legitimate. All three aspects, that is, identification, stability and legitimacy will be outlined in the next sections.

2.2.3 In-group identification.

Zavalloni (1973) describes a group as a social category, with which an individual identifies. For a person to identify as a member of a group, he or she should be able to cognitively and emotionally relate to the group. The cognitive aspect refers to a person's conscious acknowledgement of his or her identification with a group and the emotional aspect refers to the sentiments associated with the person's group membership such as like or dislike (Tajfel, 1978). The degree to which a person identifies with a group varies. Based on the outcome of inter-group comparisons, an individual may strongly identify with his or her in-group (if the intergroup comparison provides a positive social identity) or have weaker in-group identification (if the intergroup comparison leads to a negative social identity). When group boundaries are permeable and the inter-group comparison is unfavourable, individuals may even reject their in-group identity and identify with another group to enhance their self-esteem (Hogg & Kipling, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The stronger individuals identify with their group the more in-group favouritism they should show (for high status groups) and the more they should make use of social mobility, creativity or competition (for low status groups).

2.2.4 Perceptions of the stability and legitimacy of the status hierarchy.

Other factors which influence the extent to which individuals resort to in-group favouritism or social strategies are their perceptions of the stability and legitimacy of the status hierarchy between the groups. Stability refers to how stable members perceive the status hierarchy between groups to be over time. Legitimacy refers to how justified group members perceive the status hierarchy between groups to be. When group members perceive the status hierarchy to be stable and legitimate, it is unlikely that they will perceive a threat to their identity (Scheepers, & Ellemers, 2005; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). However, when group members perceive the status hierarchy as unstable and illegitimate, they are likely to perceive it as a threat to their identity (for higher status groups), or as an opportunity to enhance their social identity (for lower status groups), and engage in related social strategies. Members of the lower status groups are more likely to engage in social creativity when the status hierarchy is perceived as stable and legitimate. When the status hierarchy is perceived as both unstable and illegitimate, members of the lower status group may engage in social competition to achieve positive distinctiveness in inter-group comparisons. In contrast, members of the

higher status groups tend to increase their in-group favouritism in the face of such identity threats (Haslam, 2001 & 2004; Scheepers & Ellemers, 2005; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

The next section will summarise the components of SIT that have been used in this research to explore employees' attitudes to preferential treatment in the form of a conceptual framework.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

Based on the tenets of SIT, the conceptual framework provides a summary of the components of SIT that will be used to answer the research question.

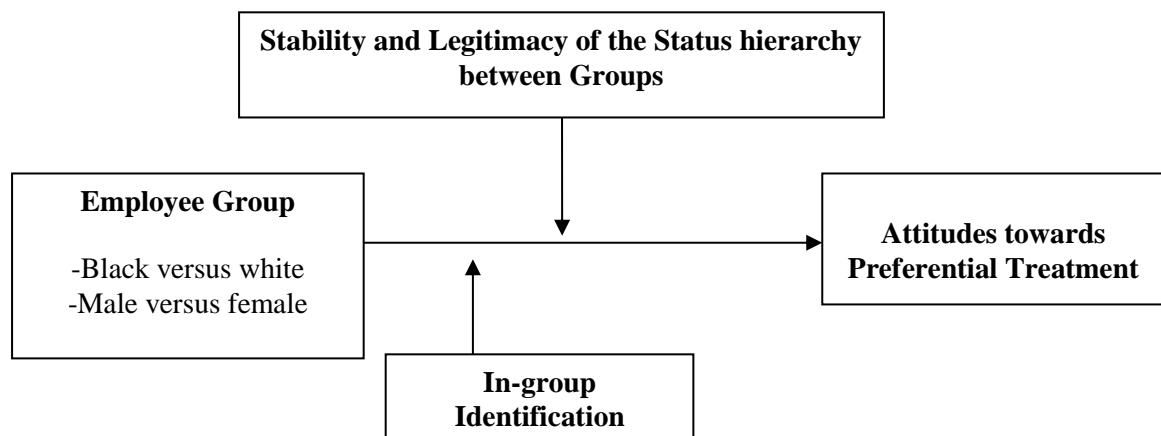


Figure 3. Conceptual framework for this study based on SIT

In the South African context based on the statistics provided in Chapter 1, white and male South Africans are the higher status groups in the workplace as members of these groups occupy the majority of high status positions and have higher employment levels. Thus they have higher socio-economic status than black and female South Africans.

Based on the assumptions of SIT, white and male South Africans should then show in-group favouritism while female and black South Africans should be more likely to resort to social strategies. One social strategy could be to support EE as it can be used as a vehicle to enhance one's social identity as a member of the lower status group as it could lead to alleviating status differences. On the other hand, white and males should more likely to resist preferential treatment as they may perceive those EE strategies as a threat to their groups' higher status.

Indeed, a study conducted by Dixon, Durrheim and Tredoux (2007) showed that white South Africans tend to oppose preferential policies that aim at wealth and opportunity redistribution. The study further showed that a resistance to the erosion of the group's privileges explained this attitude. Other research has shown that, as would be expected, black South Africans tend to favour these changes. A cohort study conducted by Finchilescu and Dawes (1998) in 1992 and followed up in 1996, showed that black youngsters tend to believe that affirmative action would make a positive difference to their lives and social identity. White employees on the other hand perceived such strategies as negative and a threat to their identity. Socio-cultural observations made by Appelgryn and Bornman (1996) suggest that white South Africans perceived their group status and their future as being threatened by a loss of political power and job opportunities. This perception was reflected by participants in Meyer's (2004) study, which showed that South Africans expected the status of black South Africans to rise while they expected that of white South Africans to fall five years into the future. In yet another study carried out in a South African higher education institution, it was observed that black participants were more willing to accept affirmative action and were able to understand the concept as compared to white participants. White employees in contrast showed a tendency to be less willing to accept preferential treatment strategies. One of the reasons why white employees had a tendency to resist the change was because they perceived that it would negatively affect their chances of employment, and make their future and that of future generations insecure. Hence they were less open to accept it (Lewins, 2006).

Based on the assumptions of SIT, the following hypothesis is postulated:

- 1: Employees from higher status groups are less willing than those from lower status groups to embrace preferential treatment strategies.

With regards to in-group identification, it is expected that the stronger white South Africans and men identify with their in-group, the more they would be motivated to maintain the high status of their groups, and thus be more resistant to threats to their group status, here, preferential treatment. In contrast, black and female employees who primarily identify with their group, the more willing they should be to engage in social creative strategies to enhance their social identity, for example by embracing preferential treatment.

Studies have found that the stronger people identify with their in-group, the more salient their in-group identity becomes across contexts (Ethier, & Deaux, 1994; Ellemers, Spears & Doojse, 1997; Hogg & Hardie, 1992; Sheldon, 1968). In addition, the more they behaved as archetypal group members, that is react in a way that would protect and enhance the in-group social identity, the higher was their in-group favouritism (Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Spears et al., 1997). In their research, Spears et al. (1997) found that high in-group identifiers were less likely to desert the group, act more collectively and be loyal to the group as compared to low in-group identifiers. Furthermore, people who identified less with the group were more likely to engage in social mobility and would adopt a more individualistic approach to enhancing their self-esteem. In terms of attitudes towards preferential treatment, this means that high in-group identifiers should be more likely to act in a manner that will enhance the group's self-esteem by favouring the in-group. For high status group members this would mean opposing preferential treatment of designated groups. Low status group members that identify strongly with their in-group, on the other hand, should support preferential treatment as it would increase the status of their group. Therefore, the following hypotheses have been derived:

2_a: The stronger members of the high status group identify with their group, the less willing they are to embrace preferential treatment strategies.

2_b: The stronger members of the low status group identify with their group, the more willing they are to embrace preferential treatment strategies.

When considering stability and legitimacy, research found that group stability alone had little effect on members' level of in-group favouritism (Turner & Brown, 1978). Irrespective of the stability of the status hierarchy between the groups, members of higher status groups showed in-group favouritism when their group status was threatened. In contrast, members of lower status groups displayed out-group favouritism irrespective of the stability of the status hierarchy between the groups, provided that the hierarchy was perceived as legitimate. However, when the perceived status hierarchy was both, unstable and illegitimate, members of lower status groups reacted differently. A meta-analysis conducted by Bettencourt, Dorr, Charlton and Hume (2001) showed that when the status hierarchy was perceived as both unstable and illegitimate, members of low status groups displayed in-group favouritism instead of favouring the out-group. As for members of the higher status groups, they showed

a greater amount of in-group favouritism to protect their identity when the status hierarchy was perceived as both unstable and illegitimate. These findings were confirmed in other research (Ellemers, Van Knippenberg, De Vries, & Wilke, 1988; Lalonde & Silverman, 1994; Wright, Taylor & Moghaddam, 1990). Applying the principles of SIT to attitudes towards EE, the following hypotheses have been derived:

3_a: Members from lower status groups are less willing to embrace preferential treatment than members of higher status groups when the status hierarchy is perceived as stable and legitimate.

3_b: Members from lower status groups are more willing to embrace preferential treatment than members of higher status groups when the status hierarchy is perceived as unstable and illegitimate.

CHAPTER 3: METHOD

This chapter describes the research approach, participants and sampling techniques. It then gives the details of the three measuring instruments used in the study, as well as the data collection procedure.

3.1 Research Design

The research methodology and methods to be used in a particular research depend on the research problem and the research objectives (Mouton, 1996). Research methodology refers to the systematic approach of solving the research problem, while research methods refer to the tools and techniques used during the research process (Kumar, 2008). In line with the research question a quantitative cross-sectional descriptive design has been deemed suitable to investigate group differences in this study. A cross-sectional design may not provide definite information about cause and effect relationships between the variables. However, it allows the comparison between many variables at the same time, which is the aim of the study (Burns & Burns, 2008). Descriptive designs are deemed appropriate to describe the characteristics of certain groups and determine the proportion of a population that behaves in a certain way. Additionally, descriptive designs are appropriate for hypothesis testing that involves differences between groups or relationships between variables (Burns & Burns, 2008).

3.1.1 Participants and sampling.

In line with the research objective, the participants of this study were employees. All participants had to be able speak and read English in order to understand the questionnaire administered as part of the research. This study was carried out amongst employees in South African organisations and the population was defined as all professionals working in organisations in South Africa. Participants were chosen using a non-probability sampling method, namely convenience sampling. Convenience sampling is a sampling technique which uses a part of the population that is easily accessible by self-selecting individuals who are willing to participate in the study (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999). Although convenience sampling tends to limit the generalisability of the study, it is nonetheless widely used in the field of social science. Convenience sampling is not only used because it is easy, fast and inexpensive, but also because it allows the researcher to detect whether a phenomenon exists

within a given sample, without the complications of using a randomised sampling technique (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999). A snow-balling technique was used to contact participants to reach the maximum number of professionals in a short period of time.

A total of 396 participants responded voluntarily to the questionnaire. No extreme responses or acquiescence bias were observed. However, a large number of participants did not complete most scales of the questionnaire and their responses were thus deleted for the scales on which they had responded to less than 80% of the items to minimise bias. A large number of missing data can introduce bias in the results and a high response rate of 80% and above is one method to minimise that risk (Vrijheid et al., 2009). This left a final sample of 264 participants.

3.1.1.1 Race and gender.

The sample had an over-representation of females with 70.5% being females ($n = 186$) and only 30.0 % males ($n = 78$). Of the overall sample, 49.2% ($n = 130$) had classified themselves as white, 20.1% as coloured ($n = 53$), 15.2% as black African ($n = 40$), 13.6% as Indian ($n = 36$), and the remaining 1.9% were Asian ($n = 5$). All individuals who are part of social groups classified by the EE Act as designated groups are classified as generic black for the purpose of this research. Thus, black participants make up 50.76% ($n = 134$) of the sample. The majority of the sample (92%, $n = 243$) has been living in South Africa for more than 6 years and the remaining individuals ($n = 21$) in the sample have been in South Africa for at least 4 years. Participants should have been staying long enough in the country to be able to understand the country's socio-political circumstances and 4 years were considered as a sufficiently long time.

3.1.1.2 Age and qualification.

The average age for the sample was 34.67 years ($SD = 12.08$). The minimum age was 19 and the maximum was 65. The sample was also highly educated, with 66.3% ($n = 175$) having at least an undergraduate degree (No tertiary qualifications = 1.89%, $n = 5$; Certificate = 12.5%, $n = 33$; Diploma = 16.29%, $n = 43$; Undergraduate = 16.3%; $n = 43$, Honours = 34.1%; $n = 90$, Masters = 11.4%; $n = 30$, PhD = 4.5%, $n = 12$).

3.1.1.3 Industry and management level.

The majority of individuals worked in the private sector (70.8%, $n = 187$) and in tertiary institutions (12.5%, $n = 33$). Only 8% ($n = 21$) of the individuals worked in the governmental sector, 4.5% ($n = 12$) in parastatal and the remaining 4.2% ($n = 11$) worked in civil society. Most individuals operated at a mid-management level (39.8%, $n = 105$) and had 10 years of experience and above (43.18%, $n = 114$), followed by 33.7% ($n = 89$) operating at a junior level and having up to two years of working experience (29.2%, $n = 28$). Of the remaining sample, 20.1% ($n = 53$) worked on a senior level and only 6.4% ($n = 17$) operated at entry-level.

3.2 Measuring instruments

Data was collected via an online questionnaire. The questionnaire consisted of the following sub-sections (see Appendix A for a copy of the instrument):

3.2.1 Demographic characteristics.

In this section, the questions aimed at gathering information about the participant's gender, racial group, age, highest educational qualification, sector, and level of position in the company.

3.2.2 Attitudes towards preferential treatment.

This section measured employees' attitudes towards preferential treatment. This sub-section consisted of 21 questions (items 1-21), all of which had been adapted from a questionnaire Wright (1994) designed and used in her Master's dissertation to assess the attitudes of employees towards affirmative action and the perceived effects of affirmative action in South Africa. The original questionnaire consisted of 22 items to assess attitudes towards affirmative action. When selecting the items from the original questionnaire, the context of this study was taken into consideration to adapt items that were most appropriate to the current research. The item "Quota systems enforced by the government are the only way of ensuring that businesses are making progress in hiring black or white women" was omitted as it was more relevant to affirmative action as enforced by the government and not by the organisation. This led to the inclusion of 21 items. The wordings of the items were also changed to suit the purpose of the current research. For example, the item "Affirmative action is reverse discrimination because blacks are now preferred above white professionals in

training opportunities and hiring and promotion decisions” from the original questionnaire has been worded as “Workplace changes to comply with employment equity policy are reverse discrimination because black professionals are now preferred above white professionals in training opportunities and hiring and promotion decisions”.

Wright’s (1994) scale has been used in South Africa to explore related variables to those the current study seeks to explore. Additionally, the original questionnaire had shown high content validity, but Wright had not reported the questionnaire’s reliability. When used in conjunction with a qualitative interview using a triangulation technique, the questionnaire had shown high construct validity: The interview data were highly consistent with the responses that were provided by participants in the questionnaire. All items were measured on a six-point Likert scale, with 1 being “strongly disagree” and 6 “strongly agree”. No neutral point was provided to force respondents to make a decision about their responses. Items 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20 and 21 had to be reverse-coded so that a high score always indicated willingness to embrace preferential treatment in the organisation.

3.2.3 Group identification.

To assess participants’ identification with their in-group, the scale developed by Brown, Condor, Mathews, Wade and Williams (1986) was used. Using a sliding scale, participants were asked to what extent they identified themselves as white, coloured, Indian, Asian, black African, male and female. Individuals were asked to rate themselves on all these groups as they may identify with more than racial group. Individuals who are children of mixed race parents or who are adopted by parents of a racial group other than their own may choose to identify more with one racial groups than another. For example a black child who has been brought up by white parents may identify himself (or herself) less as black and more as white. Similarly, an individual whose mother is Indian and father is white may choose to identify more as Indian than white, or vice versa. In addition, a person may identify more with his or her gender than his race. Therefore, the group with which they identified the most when given the above mentioned options was seen as their primary in-group identification.

Participants were then asked to complete Brown et al’s (1986) scale with the group in mind that they had identified with the most. The items assessed how strongly participants identified themselves with the chosen group by indicating their responses on a six point Likert scale

(“1= *never feel that way*”; “6= *always feel that way*”). Examples of the items include “I am a person who is glad to belong to the group of (your choice)” and “I am a person who considers the group of (your choice) important”. In the actual questionnaire, the term “your choice” was automatically replaced by the name of the group with which the participants had indicated the highest identification. Items 7, 8, 9 and 10 were reverse-coded so that a high score always indicated a strong identification with the in-group.

The scale was chosen for this study as it had been previously used in South Africa in a context which is similar to this study and demonstrated good reliability and validity. Meyer (2004) assessed the in-group identification of members of different social groups with their in-group. The scale had shown good internal consistency on average ($.66 < \alpha < .83$ for the different groups), as well as good construct validity which was determined using Principal Component Analysis. The original scale showed a good Cronbach's alpha of 0.71 in Brown et al's (1986) study. Furthermore, studies conducted by Robins and Foster (1994), as well as Duckit and Mputing (1998), showed alpha coefficients of .83 and .80, respectively.

3.2.4 Perceived stability and legitimacy of status hierarchy.

To measure participants' perception of the stability and legitimacy of the status hierarchy between racial and gender groups, scales developed by Meyer (2004) were used. Participants were asked to indicate their perceptions of the social value of black, white, male and female South Africans at three points in time, namely currently, in five year's time (future) and in an ideal world. Based on the conceptualisation of Sidanius and Pratto (1999), the social value of a particular group is indicated by the group's access to nutrition/food, homes, health care, wealth, status, political power and jobs.

The first set of scales required participants to indicate the current perceived social value of each of the four groups on a 6-point scale (“-3 = worst possible position”; “+3 = best possible position”). From this, the perceived current status differences between white and black South Africans, as well as male and female South Africans, could be determined. The second set of scales asked participants to indicate the perceived social value of each of the groups in five years' time on a 6-point scale. This allowed to determine the perceived future status differences between black and white, as well as male and female South Africans. The discrepancy between the status hierarchy determined using the current social values and the

status hierarchy using the future social values scales indicate participants' perceived stability of the status hierarchy between the groups (see Chapter 4 for a detailed description of how the stability of the status hierarchy was determined). The third set of scales asked participants to indicate the perceived social value of each of the four groups in an ideal world on a 6-point scale. The difference between the perceived current status hierarchy and the indicated ideal status hierarchy thus assessed the perceived legitimacy of status differences (the exact calculation of the score is again provided in Chapter 4). Figure 4 is an example of one of the ideal social value scales.

Please indicate your opinion about where <u>MALE SOUTH AFRICANS SHOULD STAND IN AN IDEAL WORLD</u> . Again, select the number, which portrays your opinion best.								
1.	worst possible access to <i>nutrition/ food</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible access to <i>nutrition/ food</i>
2.	worst possible <i>homes</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>homes</i>
3.	worst possible <i>health care</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>health care</i>
4.	least possible <i>wealth</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>wealth</i>
5.	least possible <i>status</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>status</i>
6.	least possible <i>political power</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	most possible <i>political power</i>
7.	worst possible <i>jobs</i>	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3	best possible <i>jobs</i>

Figure 4. Example of the scale assessing the perceived status of male South Africans in an ideal world

The scales have been used in the South African context in Meyer's (2004) research to determine the stability and legitimacy of the perceived status hierarchies between different racial groups in South Africa. In her study, the scales had shown high internal consistency as shown in Table 4.

Table 4.

Internal consistencies of Current, Future and Ideal Social Value Scales

Race Group	Cronbach's Alpha		
	Current	In 5 year's time	Ideal world
Black South Africans	.86	.91	.94
White South Africans	.90	.93	.95

3.3 Procedure

The questionnaire was set up online using the survey tool Qualtrics. The University of Cape Town's Commerce Faculty Ethics in Research committee granted ethical approval for the research. Participants' email addresses were obtained via personal and professional referrals. Additionally, the Human Resources Department of a South African university was approached to authorise access to employees. Once clearance had been obtained, the link to the questionnaire was emailed to participants. The email included details about the purpose of the study and requested participants to forward it to their colleagues. The email, as well as the questionnaire, provided instructions about how to answer the questions, informed respondents about the anonymity of their identity as participants and also addressed the confidential nature of the survey. The identity of the participants could not be linked to their responses as participants were not asked to provide any contact details. Data was collected over four weeks and the questionnaire took on average 15 minutes to complete.

Additionally, as a research incentive, upon completing the questionnaire, participants had the opportunity to enter a lucky draw for a R1,000 shopping voucher at a South African convenience store. Individuals who wanted to participate in the lucky draw were invited to follow a separate link provided at the end of the survey and submit their name and email address in a new Qualtrics questionnaire. It was not possible to link back a person's email address to their responses. At the end of data collection, the draw was finalised and the voucher was given to the winner.

3.4 Statistical Analysis Plan

IBM SPSS version 21 was used to analyse the data. The specific analysis procedures will be further outlined in the results chapter.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

In this chapter, the internal consistency, followed by the construct validity of the scales used in the study will be provided. The statistical procedures used to analyse the hypotheses outlined in Chapter 2 will be presented, followed by a description of the results.

4.1 Internal Consistency and Construct Validity of Scales

The reliability of a scale refers to the accuracy with which the scale measures what it is supposed to measure (Burns & Burns, 2008). Internal consistency was used to determine the reliability of the scales used in this study. Cronbach's alpha was used as the technique to determine reliability and George and Mallery's (2003) guidelines for interpreting Cronbach's alpha were adopted: A reliability below .50 was considered unacceptable, a reliability between .50 and .60 was seen as poor, a reliability between .70 and .80 was considered as good and a reliability greater than .90 was deemed as excellent. The item discrimination was assessed using the corrected item-total correlations. An item-total correlation of greater than .30 was considered acceptable and suggested that the item correlated significantly with other items on the scale (Robinson, Shaver & Wrightsman, 1991).

Reliability is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for validity. All valid scales are reliable, but all reliable scales are not necessarily valid. Hence, a scale which is not reliable cannot be valid (Murphy, 2005). The reliability of the scales was therefore assessed first, followed by their validity. The validity of a scale refers to whether a construct in practice measures what it is theoretically supposed to measure. One procedure to determine a scale's validity is to determine if a scale has as many dimensions as would theoretically be assumed and whether the items that should theoretically belong to a dimension hang together. If they do, it is an indication that the scale has construct validity. Factor analysis is a multivariate statistical method of identifying the dimensionality of measures and clustering variables that form super-ordinate variables together. Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) is a method of uncovering the underlying structure of a set of variables. There are several methods of conducting an EFA, one of which is Principal Axis Factoring (PAF). PAF was deemed appropriate to use in this study as it is the most widely used factor analytical procedure in the behavioural and social sciences (Warner, 2007). In order to interpret the factors emerging from factor analysis more clearly, factors are rotated in such a way that items correlate most

strongly with one factor and least with any of the other factors. There are several rotation methods when conducting a PAF, one of which is direct oblimin. Direct oblimin is a standard rotation method when a non-orthogonal solution is sought, that is a solution in which factors are allowed to correlate (Tabachnick, & Fidell, 2007). In social sciences factors are usually expected to correlate as behaviour and attitudes are difficult to partition and seldom function independent of one another (Costello & Osborne, 2005). Thus, a PAF with a direct oblimin rotation and Kaiser normalisation was used to assess the dimensionality and construct validity of the scales in this research. To determine the suitability of the data for the procedure the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure and Bartlett's test of sphericity were used. The KMO measures the sampling adequacy to examine the appropriateness of the data for factor analysis. Values of greater than .50 indicate that factor analysis would be appropriate while values smaller than .50 show the converse (Burns & Burns, 2008). Bartlett's test of sphericity (χ^2) tests whether scale items correlate with each other. If Bartlett's test is non-significant, it means that the items do not correlate and therefore cannot be part of the same factor (Burns & Burns, 2008).

Only factors with eigenvalues greater than one were considered to be significant (Kaiser, 1970; Kline, 1986). Items were considered to belong to a factor if their factor loadings were greater than .30 as this indicated a significant factor loading. Items that loaded on two factors with a loading difference of greater than .25 were retained. Items for which the difference in loadings on two factors was smaller than .25 were considered as cross-loading and were removed from the analysis as it would be impossible to decide which factor they were most related to (Starkweather & Herrington, 2012).

4.1.1 Attitudes towards preferential treatment scale.

The scale consisted of 21 items and an initial reliability analysis revealed an excellent internal consistency (Cronbach $\alpha = .92$). However, when the corrected item-total correlations were considered, all items had acceptable item-total correlations ($.36 < r < .77$), except for items 3 ($r = .28$) and 7 ($r = .18$). These two items were hence excluded from further analyses. The reliability analysis was conducted again and produced the same excellent consistency as before. The results are shown in Table 5.

Table 5

Internal Consistency of the Attitudes towards Preferential Treatment Scale After Removing Two Items with Low Corrected Item-Total Correlations

Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient	Corrected Item-Total Correlations	Total Number of Items on Scale	N
.92	.35 < r < .74	19	256

An initial PAF analysis was conducted on the 19 items. The KMO (.92) was acceptable and Bartlett's test ($\chi^2_{171} = 2320.66, p < .01$) was significant and confirmed the suitability of the data for the procedure. Three factors with eigenvalues of greater than 1 emerged. The rotated factor solution is shown in Table 6.

Table 6

Structure of the 19-item Attitudes towards Preferential Treatment Scale (Based on PAF with Oblimin Rotation and Kaiser Normalisation)

Factor	Eigenvalue	Explained Variance (%)	Minimum Factor Loading	Maximum Factor Loading
1	7.94	41.79	.03	.74
2	1.60	8.40	.05	.79
3	1.13	5.93	.02	.32

All the items loaded significantly on the first factor, with the exception of items 18, 19, 20 and 21, which loaded significantly on the second factor. Item 15 loaded on both the first and second factor and item 12 loaded on all three factors (see Appendix B). These two items were considered as problematic and excluded from further analyses. The PAF was conducted again ($KMO = .91, \chi^2_{136} = 1891.85, p < .001$). Again, including all factor loadings, three factors with eigenvalues greater than one emerged as shown in Table 7.

Table 7

Structure of the 17-items Attitudes towards Preferential Treatment Scale (based on PAF with Oblimin Rotation and Kaiser Normalisation)

Factor	Eigenvalue	Explained Variance (%)	Minimum Factor Loading	Maximum Factor Loading
1	6.93	40.76	.36	.79
2	1.60	9.35	.01	.50
3	1.06	6.21	.02	.34

All the items loaded significantly on the first factor. Nonetheless, item 18, 19, 20, 21 loaded on both first and second factor, while item 10 loaded on all three factors with a difference in loadings of smaller than .25 (See Appendix C). Thus, these items were excluded from further analyses.

A final PAF was conducted on the remaining 12 items ($KMO = .93$, $\chi^2_{66} = 1206.80$, $p < .001$). One factor with an eigenvalue greater than one emerged (eigenvalue of 5.45) and it accounted for 45.43% of the variance. All the items loaded significantly on the factor with factor loadings ranging from .40 to .82, thus confirming its unidimensionality. The factor loadings are presented in Table 8.

Table 8

Factor Loadings for the 12-items Attitudes towards Preferential Treatment Scale

Item	Item Description	Factor
1	Black professionals require special opportunities and treatment to overcome the disadvantages caused by the social, economic and racial discrimination experienced in the past.	.62
2	White professional women need special opportunities and treatment because they have to deal with a male dominated corporate culture that inherently discriminates against them.	.40
4	Black women as a group have been the target of racism AND sexism in the past. Accordingly, black women should be the primary beneficiaries of preferential strategies that aim at redressing past injustices.	.67
5	Giving black and not white South African professionals certain opportunities is necessary in order to equalise their chances of success within an organisation.	.69
6	It is only fair that black professionals are now given special opportunities to compensate for the discrimination suffered in the past.	.77
8	Whilst a basic level of competence is necessary, organisations need to lower the standards that they use when hiring black professionals. The lowering of standards under these circumstances is acceptable.	.61
9	Preferential treatment of black professionals and professional women is an acceptable way of achieving a demographically balanced workforce.	.76
11	Preferential treatment is an acceptable policy when hiring black professionals.	.82
13	Preferential treatment is NOT an acceptable policy when promoting black professionals.	.58
14	Preferential treatment is acceptable when training black professionals.	.69
17	Whilst a basic level of competence is necessary, organisations need to lower the standards that they use when hiring black professionals. The lowering of standards under these circumstances is acceptable.	.46
16	In order to be able to ignore race and gender in employment decisions in the long-term we need to focus on race and gender in the short-term, such that people will have an equal chance of success.	.46

A final reliability analysis of the 12 items demonstrated that the scale had a good internal consistency (Cronbach $\alpha = .89$, corrected item-total correlations: $.40 < r < .76$). Hence, the reduced 12-item scale is internally consistent and has construct validity. Therefore an overall attitudes score per participant was created by averaging each participant's responses to the 12 items.

4.1.2 In-group identification scale.

A reliability analysis was conducted on Brown et al's (1986) identity scale and the scale was deemed to have a good internal consistency. The Cronbach alpha for the 10 item scale was .82 and except for item 8 ($r = .25$), all the items had acceptable corrected item-total correlations ($.38 < r < .68$). Hence, item 8 was excluded from further analyses. The reliability analysis was conducted again and the results are presented in Table 9 below.

Table 9
Final Internal Consistency of the In-group Identification Scale After Removing One Item with Low Corrected Item-Total Correlations

Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient	Corrected Item-Total Correlations	Total Number of Items on Scale	N
.83	$.38 < r < .71$	9	234

The final analysis shows that all the items had acceptable corrected item-total correlations and that the scale had a good internal consistency. A PAF analysis was conducted on the nine items. The KMO (.84) showed that the data was appropriate for factor analysis, supported by the significant Bartlett's test ($\chi^2_{36} = 1089.03, p < .001$), which confirmed the suitability of the data for the procedure. Two factors with eigenvalues greater than one emerged. The results are shown in Table 10 below.

Table 10
Structure of the 9-items In-group Identification Scale

Factor	Eigenvalue	Explained Variance (%)	Minimum Factor Loading	Maximum Factor Loading
1	3.97	44.06	.03	.91
2	2.20	24.47	.09	.86

The five items phrased in a positive direction, for which a high score indicated strong identification with the in-group, loaded significantly on the first factor. The four items that were phrased in a negative direction, for which a high score indicated low identification with the in-group, and thus had been reverse-coded, loaded significantly on the second factor as shown in Table 11.

Table 11
Pattern Matrix for In-group Identification Scale (PAF with Oblimin Rotation and Kaiser Normalisation)

Items	Factor	
	1	2
I am a person who considers that being (<i>name of group</i>) is important	.66	
I am a person who identifies with being (<i>name of group</i>)	.83	
I am a person who feels strong ties with being (<i>name of group</i>)	.91	
I am a person who is glad to be (<i>name of group</i>)	.74	
I am a person who sees myself as being (<i>name of group</i>)	.64	
I am a person who makes excuses to be (<i>name of group</i>)		.80
I am a person who tries to hide my identity as an (<i>name of group</i>) person		.86
I am a person who is annoyed to say I'm (<i>name of group</i>)		.85
I am a person who criticises (<i>name of group</i>) as a group in society		.54

This contradicted the expected unidimensionality of the scale as shown in previous studies (Brown et al's., 1986; Meyer, 2004). In Meyer's study, although two factors emerged, nonetheless all the items significantly loaded on one factor. In this study, a moderate correlation of .27 was found between the two factors. For these reasons, it was deemed appropriate to explore whether a one dimensional solution would also work for this study. Thus, another PAF was conducted in which the items were forced to converge on one factor in order to check whether all the items could be allocated to one factor. The eigenvalue of this factor was 3.97 and it accounted for 44.06% of variance. All items loaded significantly on

this one factor, which emerged after six iterations, with a minimum factor loading of .41 and a maximum factor loading of .79. The results are presented in Table 12.

Table 12

Factor Loading for the 9-item In-group Identification Scale after Forcing the Items to Load on One Factor

Item Description	Factor Loadings
I am a person who identifies with being (.....)	.79
I am a person who is glad to be (.....)	.75
I am a person who feels strong ties with being (.....)	.70
I am a person who sees myself as being (.....)	.70
I am a person who tries to hide my identity as an (.....) person	.57
I am a person who is annoyed to say I'm (.....)	.56
I am a person who considers that being (.....) is important	.47
I am a person who makes excuses to be (.....)	.45
I am a person who criticises (.....) as a group in society	.41

Hence, although the items initially loaded on two components, Table 12 above shows that it seems reasonable to assume that they have one underlying factor in common and hence the items can be deemed to be measuring how strongly a person identifies himself or herself with a particular group. The scale is thus deemed to be internally consistent, as well as having construct validity. Therefore an overall identity score per participant was created by averaging each participant's scores to the 9 items.

4.1.3 Current, future and ideal social value scales.

The Current, Future and Social Value Scales each had seven items, namely access to food, homes, health, wealth, status, political power and jobs. Table 13 shows the results of the reliability.

Table 13

Internal Consistencies for the 7-item Current, Future and Ideal Social Value Scales

	Social Value Scale	Cronbach's Alpha	Range of Corrected Item-Total Correlations	N
Current	Black South African	.88	.31 < r < .77	242
	White South African	.89	.24 < r < .86	240
	Male South African	.91	.55 < r < .84	235
	Female South African	.94	.58 < r < .88	232
Future	Black South Africa	.94	.42 < r < .88	242
	White South African	.94	.50 < r < .88	239
	Male South African	.95	.76 < r < .87	234
	Female South African	.96	.77 < r < .91	232
Ideal	Black South Africa	.96	.69 < r < .91	240
	White South African	.96	.71 < r < .93	237
	Male South African	.96	.76 < r < .92	234
	Female South African	.97	.82 < r < .91	232

All scales showed a good to excellent internal consistency. The corrected item-total correlations were adequate, except for the item '*political power*' on the scale assessing the current perceived group status for white South Africans ($r = .24$). The corrected item-total correlation for the same item was also the lowest for the scale assessing the current perceived group status for black South Africans ($r = .31$). Since testing the hypotheses comparisons of participants' perceptions of black and white South Africans were required, it was important that the two scales were the same. For that reason, the item *political power* was excluded for both, the scale assessing white South Africans' social value and black South Africans' social

value, too. A possible reason as to why *political power* may not have been functioning well on the Current Social Values scale for white and black South Africans may be the current political situation in South Africa. Socio-economically, white South Africans are the higher status group and black South Africans the lower status group. Generally, the higher social group also has more political power. Nonetheless, in South Africa, black South Africans have more political power than their white counterparts. Hence, *political power* on the Current Social Values may not have been correlated well with the other items in estimating the current social values of the two groups.

The reliability analysis showed that those two six-item scales had an improved internal consistency (Current social value black South Africans: Cronbach $\alpha = .90$, $.66 < r < .79$; Current social value white South Africans: Cronbach $\alpha = .94$, $.73 < r < .90$). The results of the reliability analysis showed that all the scales now had excellent internal consistencies.

A PAF analysis was conducted after KMO and Bartlett's tests confirmed the suitability of the data for the procedure (see Table 16). For the Current Social Values scale for male, two components with eigenvalues greater than one emerged. The first factor had an eigenvalue of 4.69 and the second an eigenvalue of 1.19. The first factor accounted for 67.04% of the variance and the second factor for 17.00%. Table 14 shows the pattern matrix.

Table 14
Pattern Matrix for Current Social Values Scale for Male (PAF with Oblimin Rotation and Kaiser Normalisation)

Item Description	Factor	
	1	2
Food	.90	
Home	.87	
Health	.95	
Wealth		.51
Status		.83
Political Power		.84
Job		.77

As the two factors were correlated ($r = .56$), which indicated shared variance, it was thus likely that an over-arching common factor existed. When forced to converge on one factor, all items loaded significantly on the first factor as shown in Table 15.

Table 15

Pattern Matrix for Current Social Values Scale for Male after Forcing the Items to Converge on One Factor

Item Description	Factor Loadings
	1
Food	.79
Home	.85
Health	.80
Wealth	.89
Status	.78
Political Power	.57
Job	.80

Table 16 shows the eigenvalues and associated explained variance as well as the range of factor loadings for all other current, future and ideal social value scales, which were unidimensional.

Table 16

Results of the Principal Axis Factoring Analysis for Current, Future and Ideal Social Value Scales

Group		Number of Items	KMO	Bartlett's Test		Eigen Value	Range of Factor Loadings	% Explained Variance	N
				<i>df</i>	<i>x²</i>				
Current	Black South African	6	.87	15	950.41	4.16	.68 - .84	59.40	242
	White South African	6	.90	15	1354.11	4.68	.74 - .92	66.81	240
	Male South African	7	.87	21	1408.66	4.69	.57 - .89	67.04	235
	Female South African	7	.90	21	1568.61	5.14	.60 - .92	73.21	232
Future	Black South Africa	7	.89	21	1748.03	5.11	.43 - .91	72.94	242
	White South African	7	.91	21	1927.98	5.38	.59 - .94	76.84	239
	Male South African	7	.90	21	1954.87	5.47	.78 - .90	78.12	234
	Female South African	7	.91	21	2021.98	5.71	.78 - .93	81.61	232
Ideal	Black South Africa	7	.88	21	2068.25	5.59	.71 - .93	79.70	240
	White South African	7	.89	21	2574.49	5.78	.73 - .96	82.42	237
	Male South African	7	.87	21	2257.72	5.74	.77 - .94	81.94	234
	Female South African	7	.91	21	2190.77	5.84	.83 - .94	83.39	232

Hence, the scales had high internal consistency and construct validity. Therefore an overall current, future and ideal social value score per participant per group rated was created, that is each participant obtained a score for the social value ascribed to black, white, male and female South Africans.

4.2 Descriptive Statistics

In this section, the descriptive statistics for the sample are presented. The numbers of individuals in the sample, mean scores and the standard deviation, the minimum and maximum scores per scale, as well as the skewness and kurtosis have been reported.

The interpretation of the mean scores is based on a scale mid-point of 3.5 for the 6-point scales (*1 = Strongly Disagree, 6 = Strongly Agree*). Thus, an average score of greater than 3.5 demonstrates a higher inclination towards the positive end of the continuum or higher levels of the variables being measured while an average score of less than 3.5 indicates a higher inclination towards the negative end of the continuum or lower levels of the variables being measured.

4.2.1 Attitudes towards preferential treatment and in-group identification.

An average score of more than 3.5 demonstrates more willingness to embrace preferential treatment and an average score of less than 3.5 indicates less willingness to embrace preferential treatment on a six-point scale. From Table 17, it can be observed that in general, participants had a slightly below average attitude towards preferential treatment in organisations.

Table 17

Overall Descriptive Statistics for Attitudes towards Preferential Treatment in the Sample

N	Mean	SD	Minimum	Maximum	SE Skewness	Skewness	SE Kurtosis	Kurtosis
259	3.10	.93	1.00	5.25	.15	.02	.30	-.89

Note. N = number of participants; SD = standard deviation; SE = standard error

Table 18

Overall Descriptive Statistics for In-group Identification in the Sample

N	Mean	SD	Minimum	Maximum	SE Skewness	Skewness	SE Kurtosis	Kurtosis
234	4.85	.96	1.22	6.00	.16	-1.29	.32	2.15

Note. N = number of participants; SD = standard deviation; SE = standard error

Considering a midpoint of 3.5, in general, individuals in the sample identified quite strongly with their in-group as indicated in Table 18.

4.2.2 Current, future and ideal values for black and white South Africans.

Table 19 shows the descriptive statistics for the current social values of white and black South Africans as perceived by participants in the sample.

Table 19

Descriptive Statistics for the Current, Future and Ideal Social Values of White and Black South Africans as Perceived by Participants in the Sample

Current Social Values						
Descriptive Statistics	Social Values of Black South Africans as perceived by		Social Values of White participants as perceived by		Average Current Social Values for	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
	Participants	Participants	Participants	Participants	Participants	Participants
N	120	122	119	121	240	242
Mean	2.97	2.88	4.64	5.03	4.84	2.92
SD	1.00	1.21	.75	1.11	.97	1.11
Minimum	1.00	1.00	2.50	1.00	1.00	1.00
Maximum	5.50	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00

Future Social Values						
Descriptive Statistics	Social Values of Black South Africans as perceived by		Social Values of White participants as perceived by		Average Future Social Values for	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
	Participants	Participants	Participants	Participants	Participants	Participants
N	120	122	118	121	239	242
Mean	4.07	3.96	4.10	4.59	4.34	4.02
SD	1.06	1.35	1.12	1.15	1.16	1.21
Minimum	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Maximum	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00

Ideal Social Values						
Descriptive Statistics	Social Values of Black South Africans as perceived by		Social Values of White participants as perceived by		Average Ideal Social Values for	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
	Participants	Participants	Participants	Participants	Participants	Participants
N	119	121	118	119	237	240
Mean	5.26	4.89	5.26	4.92	5.09	5.07
SD	.75	1.05	.83	1.01	.94	.93
Minimum	3.71	1.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Maximum	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00

Considering a mid-point of 3.5 on a six point scale, the current perceived social status of black South Africans is seen as low in general, while white South Africans are perceived as having relatively high social status. Five years into the future participants expected black South Africans to have obtained a higher social status. In contrast, they expected the social value of white South Africans to be lower. In an ideal world, the participants on average ascribed similar social values to both white and black South Africans.

In general, white participants ascribed more current and future social values to black South Africans than black participants. However, in an ideal world white participants ascribed higher social value to both their own racial group and to black South Africans than black participants. Figure 5 shows the current, future and ideal ascribed values for black and white South Africans, as the perceived by black and white participants.

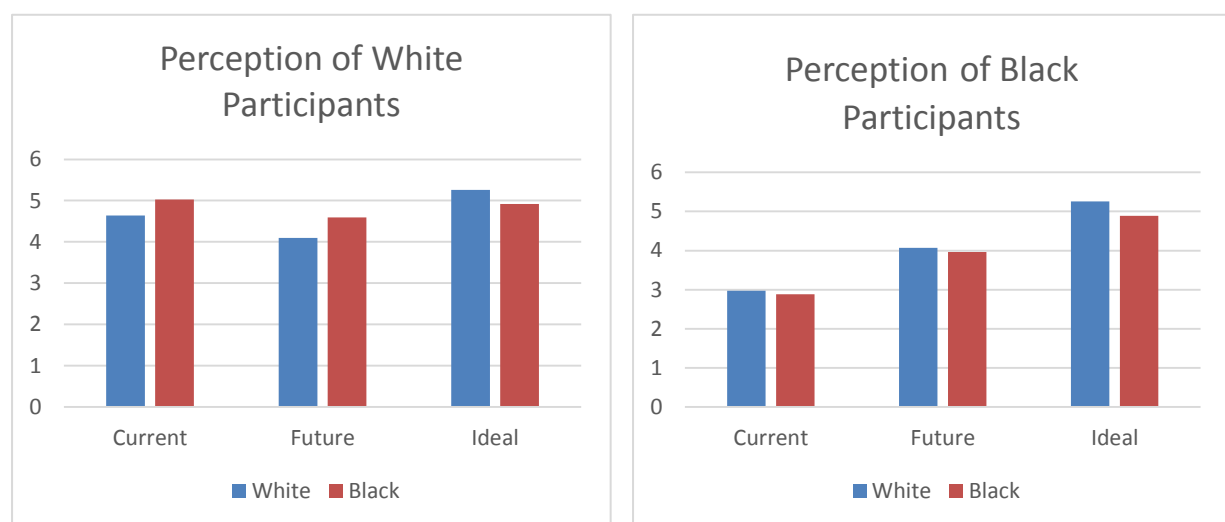


Figure 5. Current, future and ideal social values for black and white South Africans as white participants perceived them (left graph) and black participants perceived them (right graph).

In this sample black and white participants saw the status hierarchy in the same way as assumed. This confirms that participants saw white South Africans as the higher status group with regards to socio-economic status than black South Africans. Both racial groups saw ideally no differences between the two groups. White participants thought that the differences would have largely levelled out within the next 5 years, while black participants saw a levelling out, but not to the same extent. Both participant groups assumed that the levelling out of status differences would be due to an increase in social values for black South Africans and a decrease in social values for white South Africans.

4.2.3 Current, future and ideal values for male and female South Africans.

Table 20 shows the descriptive statistics for the current social values of male and female South Africans as perceived by participants in the sample.

Table 20

Descriptive Statistics for the Current, Future and Ideal Social Values of Male and Female South Africans as Perceived by Participants in the Sample

Current Social Values						
Descriptive Statistics	Social Values of Male South Africans as perceived by		Social Values of Female participants as perceived by		Average Current Social Values for	
	Male Participants	Female Participants	Male Participants	Female Participants	Male Participants	Female Participants
N	67	168	66	166	235	232
Mean	4.43	4.59	3.56	3.48	4.55	3.50
SD	.73	1.00	1.01	1.00	.93	1.00
Minimum	2.71	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Maximum	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00

Future Social Values						
Descriptive Statistics	Social Values of Male South Africans as perceived by		Social Values of Female participants as perceived by		Average Future Social Values for	
	Male Participants	Female Participants	Male Participants	Female Participants	Male Participants	Female Participants
N	67	167	66	166	234	232
Mean	4.53	4.50	4.14	4.04	4.51	4.07
SD	.71	1.01	.98	1.12	1.00	1.08
Minimum	3.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Maximum	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00

Ideal Social Values						
Descriptive Statistics	Social Values of Male South Africans as perceived by		Social Values of Female participants as perceived by		Average Ideal Social Values for	
	Male Participants	Female Participants	Male Participants	Female Participants	Male Participants	Female Participants
N	67	167	66	166	234	232
Mean	5.16	5.15	5.23	5.38	5.16	5.33
SD	.78	.82	.77	.71	.80	.73
Minimum	4.00	3.00	3.29	3.00	3.00	3.00
Maximum	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00

In general, participants perceived male South Africans as having higher current and future social values than female South Africans. Female participants ascribed higher social values to male South Africans than male participants. The status of male South Africans is not expected to change substantially when the current and future status as perceived by both genders are compared. In an ideal world, it seems that both male and female participants ascribe higher social values to male South Africans as compared to their current and future social values. However, in an ideal world, female participants ascribed more social values to female than male South Africans. Figure 6 shows the current, future and ideal ascribes values for black and white South Africans, as the participants perceived them.

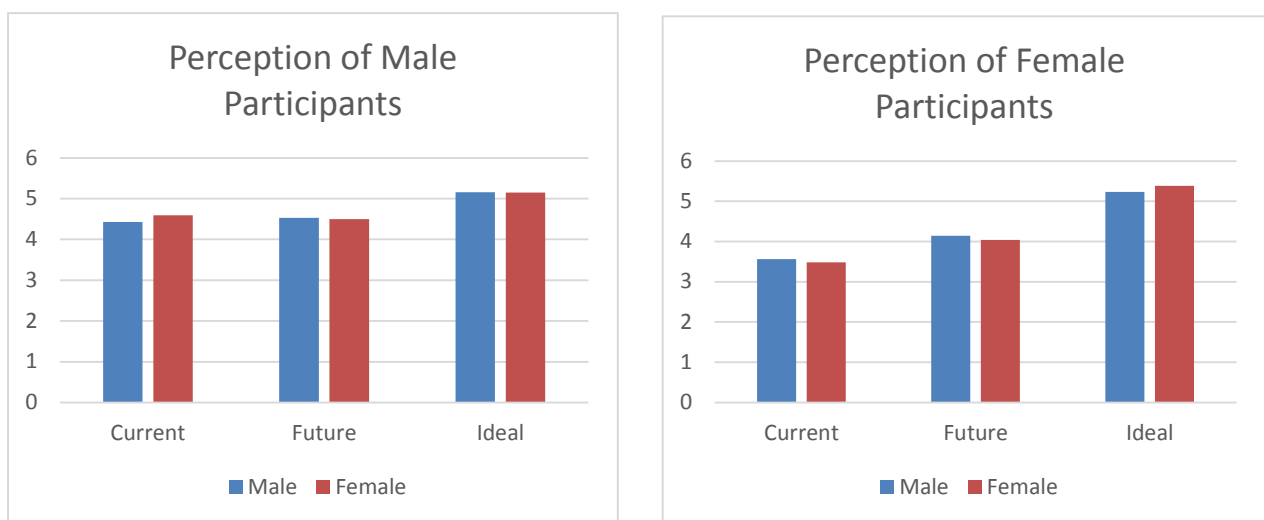


Figure 6. Current, future and ideal social values for male and female South Africans as male participants perceived them (left graph) and female participants perceived them (right graph).

From Figure 6, it seems that males are currently perceived as the higher status group and females as the lower status group. While participants expected the status of female South Africans to rise in the future, that is in five years' time, they expected that of male South Africans to stay the same. In an ideal world, male participants perceived female South Africans as having equal status. Nonetheless, female participants indicated that female South Africans deserve a higher status than male South Africans.

4.3 Hypotheses

In chapter two, the following hypotheses had been derived. In this section, the results related to each item will be presented.

1: Employees from higher status groups are less willing than those from lower status group to embrace preferential treatment strategies.

2_a: The stronger members of the high status group identify with their group, the less willing they are to embrace preferential treatment strategies.

2_b: The stronger members of the low status group identify with their group, the more willing they are to embrace preferential treatment strategies.

3_a: Members from lower status groups are less willing to embrace preferential treatment than members of higher status groups when the status hierarchy is perceived as stable and legitimate.

3_b: Members from lower status groups are more willing to embrace preferential treatment than members of higher status groups when the status hierarchy is perceived as unstable and illegitimate.

Based on the literature review, the higher status gender group was assumed male while females were classified as the lower status group. In terms of race, white South Africans had been classified as the higher status group while black South Africans were assumed to be the lower status groups. The descriptive statistics confirmed that this as in line with participants' average perceptions of the status hierarchy. Thus in the hypotheses, employees of the higher status groups refer to white and male participants, and employees from lower status groups refer to black and female participants.

4.3.1 Hypothesis 1.

1: Employees from higher status groups are less willing than those from lower status group to embrace preferential treatment strategies.

Table 21 shows the descriptive statistics for the attitudes towards preferential treatment separately for each gender and racial group per scale. The sample consisted of more female than male participants while the number of participants in each racial group was more or less the same. The descriptive statistics show that in general both higher and lower groups' participants were not willing to embrace preferential treatment. However, male participants were more in favour to embrace preferential treatment in organisations than female participants. In terms of race, black participants had a higher inclination to embrace preferential treatment in organisations than white participants.

Table 21
Descriptive Statistics for Attitudes towards Preferential Treatment in the Sample as per Gender and Racial Groups

Participant Group		N	Mean	SD	Minimum	Maximum	SE Skewness	Skewness	SE Kurtosis	Kurtosis
Gender	Male	76	3.38	.95	1.33	5.25	.28	-.23	.55	-.69
	Female	183	2.99	.91	1.00	5.08	.18	.09	.36	-.91
Race	White	128	2.91	.87	1.25	5.00	.21	.22	.43	-.84
	Black	131	3.29	.95	1.00	5.25	.21	-.23	.42	-.74

Note. N = number of participants; SD = standard deviation; SE = standard error

In order to test whether these differences were statistically significant, a 2 (participant gender) x 2 (participant racial group) factorial ANOVA, with attitudes towards preferential treatment as the dependent variable would have been the appropriate procedure. A number of assumptions need to be fulfilled for ANOVA to be appropriate (Field, 2009). Each cell should contain at least 20 cases for the data to be suitable for the procedure and homogeneity of variances in the dependent variable in each level of the independent variables is also necessary. The dependent variable needs to be normally distributed in each level of the independent variables. As ANOVA makes use of the F statistic it is quite robust even when normality is violated as long as the group sizes are approximately equal (Field, 2009). Field points out that when group sizes are not equal and the data is not normally distributed, this may affect the F statistic in some unpredictable manner.

The data in this study met certain assumptions of ANOVA. The dependent variable was continuous, the independent variables were categorical, and the observations were independent. Nonetheless, the data was not normally distributed for white and female participants as demonstrated by the Shapiro-Wilks test of normality as shown in Table 22 below. The Shapiro-Wilks test of normality is an appropriate method to test whether a data is normally distributed for sample sizes of less than 2000 participants. A data which is not normally distributed is indicated by a significant *p*-value (Field, 2009).

Table 22
Normal Distribution of Data in Gender and Racial Groups as Indicated by the Shapiro-Wilks Test of Normality

Groups		R-Value	Degrees of Freedom
Racial Groups	White	.97*	128
	Black	.98	131
Gender Groups	Male	.98	76
	Female	.98*	183

**p* < 0.01

In addition, the group sizes were not approximately equal for each group (see Table 21). Therefore, a non-parametric test had to be used to test the hypothesis. As there is no equivalent non-parametric test to factorial ANOVA, two separate tests had to be run for each of the independent grouping variables (race and gender). Hence, the Mann-Whitney U-test was used as it allows to test for differences in two independent groups. Its use is most suitable

when the data does not assume a normal distribution, the observations are independent of each other and the data has violated the assumptions of ANOVA (Field, 2009).

The Mann Whitney test uses the U-statistics and the degrees of freedom are indicated by the following formula: $K - 1$, whereby K represents the number of groups (Field, 2009). In SPSS version 2.1, the output does not provide the U-statistics, but only indicates the significance level. The results showed that both gender ($p < .001$) and racial groups ($p < .001$) significantly differed in their attitudes towards preferential treatment. Based on the mean attitudes of the groups as shown in Table 21, black participants were more in favour than white participants to embrace preferential treatment strategies as expected. However, male participants had a more favourable attitude towards preferential treatment than female participants. Therefore, hypothesis 1 was only partially supported.

4.3.2 Hypotheses 2.

2_a: The stronger members of the high status group identify with their group, the less willing they are to embrace preferential treatment strategies.

2_b: The stronger members of the low status group identify with their group, the more willing they are to embrace preferential treatment strategies.

The descriptive statistics in Table 23 show that female participants identified more strongly with their gender group than male participants, while black participants identified more strongly with their racial group as compared to white participants. Thus, in both cases, the higher status group seemed to identify less with their group than low status group members.

After determining whether participants identified more strongly with their racial or their gender group he or she had been asked to indicate his/her degree of identification with the group he/she had identified most strongly with (either racial group or gender group).

Of the 130 white participants, only 27 (20.77%) identified themselves more strongly with their racial group than with their gender group, and (39.55%) of the 134 black participants identified more strongly with their racial group than with their gender group. Of the 78 males in the sample, 41 (52.56%) identified themselves with their gender group rather than their

racial group, while 110 females (59.14%), identified more strongly with their gender than with their racial group. It also seems that white participants are more likely to identify themselves with gender than race (See Table 23).

Table 23

Descriptive Statistics for the In-group Identification Scale for Participants who Identified Strongly as White, Black, Male or Female

Primary Identification As:	N	Mean	SD	Skewness	SE Skewness	Kurtosis	SE Kurtosis
White	27	4.66	.71	.03	.45	-.92	-.92
Black	53	4.76	.94	-1.07	.33	1.22	.64
Male	41	4.49	1.03	-1.14	.37	1.68	.72
Female	110	5.09	.93	-1.94	.23	4.85	.46

Note. N = number of participants; SD = standard deviation; SE = standard error

The Shapiro-Wilks test showed that the data was normally distributed across all racial and gender groups as shown in Table 24 ($p > 0.01$).

Table 24

Normal Distribution of Data in Gender and Racial Groups as Indicated by the Shapiro-Wilks Test of Normality

Groups	R-Value	Degrees of Freedom
Racial Groups		
White	.92	29
Black	.97	55
Gender Groups		
Male	.96	41
Female	.98	112

The Pearson's product moment correlation was therefore used to test for hypotheses 2_a and 2_b. Its use is most appropriate when the data is normally distributed (Field, 2009). The correlation results are presented in Table 25.

Table 25

Results of the Pearson Product Moment Correlation between the Level of In-group Identification and Attitude towards Preferential Treatment

Groups	Primary Identification as:	N	Correlation Coefficient	p- Value
Racial Group	White	27	-.15	.232
	Black	53	-.14	.160
Gender Group	Male	41	-.01	.486
	Female	110	.14	.072

In general, the correlations were weak. Nonetheless, as expected, male and white participants had a negative correlation between in-group identification and attitudes towards preferential treatment. Surprisingly, for black participants the correlation was also negative. Therefore, in the sample, there is a small trend that the more white, black and male participants identified with their in-group, the less in favour they were of preferential treatment. As for female participants, there was a positive correlation between in-group identification and attitudes towards preferential treatment. This finding suggests that the more females identified with their in-group, the more they were in favour of preferential treatment.

Because the correlations were non-significant, these results therefore cannot be generalised to the population. It means that strong identification does not relate to attitudes towards preferential treatment. Therefore, the second set of hypotheses is not supported as there were no significant results. However, the direction of the correlation for female and white participants in the sample was as expected.

4.3.3 Hypotheses 3.

4.3.3.1 Calculating the perceived stability of the status hierarchy.

To estimate the perceived stability for the hierarchy between the groups, the difference in the mean scores between the high and low status group for the current, as well as the future social values were calculated for each participant. Stability was thereafter calculated by subtracting the resulting current from the resultant future score. This is further explained in Table 26 with an example of how the perceived stability for the status hierarchy between black and white South Africans was calculated. The perceived stability for the hierarchy between male and female South Africans was calculated equivalently.

Table 26

Example of how the Stability of the Status Hierarchy between Racial Groups Was Calculated

Perceived Group's Status	Formula	Meaning of Scores
Current perceived hierarchical differences for racial groups	Mean scores of the current social values scales for white South Africans - mean scores of the current social values for black South Africans.	0 = No status differences
		>0= White South Africans are perceived as having higher status
		<0= Black South Africans are perceived as having higher status
Future perceived hierarchical differences for racial groups	Mean scores of the future social values scales for white South Africans - mean scores of the future social values for black South Africans.	0 = No status differences
		>0= White South Africans are perceived as having higher status in future
		<0= Black South Africans are perceived as having higher status in future
Stability for racial groups	Future perceived status differences - Current perceived status differences	0= Status differences stable
		>0= Status differences unstable
		<0 = Status differences unstable

Tables 27 and 28 respectively show the descriptive statistics for black and white and male and female participants' attitudes towards preferential treatment based on whether participants perceived the stability of the status hierarchy as stable or unstable.

Table 27

Descriptive Statistics for the Attitudes towards Preferential Treatment of White and Black Participants Based on the Perceived Stability of the Status Hierarchy between the Groups

Perceptions of status hierarchy	Participants' racial categorisation	N	Mean	SD	Skewness	SE Skewness	Kurtosis	SE Kurtosis
Stable	White	73	3.02	.94	.11	.28	-.92	.56
	Black	73	3.44	.92	-.34	.28	-.77	.56
	Overall	146	3.23	.95	-.12	.20	-.96	.40
Unstable	White	45	2.67	.75	.32	.35	-1.01	.69
	Black	48	3.02	.97	.07	.34	-.51	.67
	Overall	93	2.85	.88	.28	.25	-.51	.49

Note. N = number of participants; SD = standard deviation; SE = standard error

Table 28

Descriptive Statistics for the Attitudes towards Preferential Treatment of Male and Female Participants Based on the Perceived Stability of the Status Hierarchy between the Groups

Perceptions of status hierarchy	Participants' gender categorisation	N	Mean	SD	Skewness	SE Skewness	Kurtosis	SE Kurtosis
Stable	Male	41	3.40	.88	-.06	.37	-.71	.72
	Female	112	2.97	.95	.09	.23	-.90	.45
	Overall	153	3.08	.95	.03	.20	-.86	.39
Unstable	Male	25	3.30	1.12	-.18	.45	-1.02	.90
	Female	54	2.98	.84	.12	.33	-1.11	.64
	Overall	79	3.08	.94	.10	.27	-.94	.54

Note. N = number of participants; SD = standard deviation; SE = standard error

In general, more participants from both racial and gender groups perceived the hierarchy as being stable than unstable. A larger proportion of female participants than male participants saw the status hierarchy as stable. On average, black and male participants in this sample seemed to be more in favour of preferential treatment than white and female participants, for both groups: Those that saw the status hierarchy as stable and those that saw it as unstable.

4.3.3.2 Calculating the perceived legitimacy of the status hierarchy.

For each participant, the perceived legitimacy for the hierarchy between racial groups, as well as between the gender groups, was calculated from the differences between the group's perceived current social values and its perceived ideal social values. The calculations were performed in the same way as outlined in Table 26, the only difference being that instead of the differences between current and future social values, the differences between current and ideal social values were considered. A score of 0 indicated that the hierarchy was perceived as legitimate while a score of less than or greater than 0 indicated that the hierarchy between the groups was perceived as illegitimate.

Tables 29 and 30 show the descriptive statistics for the attitudes of employees based on the perceived legitimacy of the status hierarchy between the groups for participants of different racial and gender groups. More participants from both racial and gender groups perceived the status hierarchy to be illegitimate than legitimate. Participants of both racial groups were more in favour of preferential treatment when seeing the hierarchy as illegitimate than as legitimate; the same was observed for male, but not for female participants. Female participants who saw the hierarchy as legitimate had the same attitudes towards preferential treatment as those who perceived it as illegitimate. In addition, a larger proportion of females (73.37%) than males (26.63%) perceived the hierarchy as illegitimate.

Table 29

Descriptive Statistics for the Attitudes of White and Black Participants Based on the Perceived Legitimacy of the Status Hierarchy between the Groups

Perceptions of status hierarchy	Participants' racial categorisation	N	Mean	SD	Skewness	SE Skewness	Kurtosis	SE Kurtosis
Legitimate	White	20	2.55	.67	.97	.51	-.95	.99
	Black	32	3.10	.86	.16	.41	-.98	.81
	Overall	52	2.88	.83	.48	.33	-.71	.65
Illegitimate	White	98	2.96	.91	.13	.24	-.91	.48
	Black	87	3.35	.98	-.34	.26	-.61	.51
	Overall	185	3.14	.96	-.07	.18	-.87	.36

Note. N = number of participants; SD = standard deviation; SE = standard error

Table 30

Descriptive Statistics for the Attitudes of Male and Female Participants Based on the Perceived Legitimacy of the Status Hierarchy between the Groups

Perceptions of status hierarchy	Participants' gender categorisation	N	Mean	SD	Skewness	SE Skewness	Kurtosis	SE Kurtosis
Legitimate	Male	13	2.94	.96	.61	.62	-.43	1.19
	Female	20	2.97	.70	.23	.51	-.54	.99
	Overall	33	2.95	.80	.43	.41	-.40	.79
Illegitimate	Male	53	3.46	1.12	.96	-.34	-.50	.64
	Female	146	2.98	.84	.94	.09	-.99	.40
	Overall	199	3.11	.97	-.00	.17	-.94	.34

Note. N = number of participants; SD = standard deviation; SE = standard error

4.3.3.3 Descriptive statistics for participants' attitudes towards preferential treatment based on the perceived stability and legitimacy of the status hierarchy.

Tables 31 shows the descriptive statistics for the attitudes towards preferential treatment of black and white employees in the sample based on their perceptions of the stability and legitimacy of status hierarchy between the groups.

Table 31
Descriptive Statistics for the Attitudes towards Preferential Treatment of White and Black Participants based on the Perceived Stability and legitimacy of the Status Hierarchy between the Group

Perceived Stability and Legitimacy	Group self-classification of participant	N	Mean	SD	Skewness	SE Skewness	Kurtosis	SE Kurtosis
Stable and Legitimate	White	14	2.73	.69	.77	.60	.52	1.15
	Black	20	3.31	.85	.16	.51	-1.30	.99
	Overall	34	3.07	.82	.43	.40	-.89	.79
Unstable but Legitimate	White	6	2.12	.38	.46	.84	-1.31	1.74
	Black	12	2.76	.84	.28	.64	-.78	1.23
	Overall	18	2.54	.76	.75	.53	-.15	1.04
Unstable and Illegitimate	White	39	2.75	.76	.14	.38	-1.11	.74
	Black	36	3.12	1.00	-.06	.39	-.43	.77
	Overall	75	2.92	.90	.17	.28	-.48	.55

Note. N = number of participants; SD = standard deviation; SE = standard error

Based on the above, more participants perceived the status hierarchy as stable and legitimate than unstable but legitimate. However, this number was quite small when considering the number of participants who perceived the status hierarchy as unstable and illegitimate. Black participants were in general more willing to accept preferential treatment than white participants. When the status hierarchy was perceived as unstable but legitimate, they were less willing to accept preferential treatment. The effect size was large as indicated by Cohen's d ($d = 0.83$).

Cohen's d is a measure of strength of a phenomenon. It uses the standardised difference between the means of two groups to indicate the effect size (Cohen, 1992). According to Cohen's convention, an effect size of .02 is considered as small, .30 as medium and .50 as large.

Tables 32 shows the descriptive statistics for the attitudes towards preferential treatment of male and female employees in the sample based on their perceptions of the stability and legitimacy of status hierarchy between the groups

Table 32

Descriptive Statistics for the Attitudes towards Preferential Treatment of Male and Female Participants based on the Perceived Stability and legitimacy of the Status Hierarchy between the Group

Perceived Stability and Legitimacy	Group self-classification of participant	N	Mean	SD	Skewness	SE Skewness	Kurtosis	SE Kurtosis
Stable and Legitimate	Male	9	3.01	.91	.84	.72	.72	1.40
	Female	12	2.87	.75	.74	.64	.63	1.23
	Overall	21	2.93	.81	.78	.50	.38	.97
Unstable but Legitimate	Male	4	2.81	1.18	.77	1.01	-1.71	2.61
	Female	8	3.10	.66	-.67	.75	-1.23	1.48
	Overall	12	3.00	3.25	-1.36	.64	-1.24	1.23
Unstable and Illegitimate	Male	21	3.39	1.12	-.32	.50	-.75	.97
	Female	46	2.95	.87	.20	.35	-1.12	.69
	Overall	67	3.09	.97	.11	.29	-.96	.58

Note. N = number of participants; SD = standard deviation; SE = standard error

Considering the sample size, very few male and female participants perceived the hierarchy status as being stable and legitimate for. An even lesser number of participants viewed the status hierarchy as unstable but legitimate. Most male and female participants viewed the status hierarchy as unstable and illegitimate. On average, male participants generally were more in favour of preferential treatment than female participants, except when the status hierarchy was perceived as unstable but legitimate. When the status hierarchy was perceived as such, females was more in favour of preferential treatment compared to when the status hierarchy is perceived as otherwise. That effect was large as indicated by Cohen's D ($d = .65$).

4.3.3.4 Testing for Hypotheses 3.

3_a: Members from lower status groups are less willing to embrace preferential treatment than members of higher status groups when the status hierarchy is perceived as stable and legitimate.

3_b: Members from lower status groups are more willing to embrace preferential treatment than members of higher status groups when the status hierarchy is perceived as unstable and illegitimate.

The Shapiro Wilks test indicated that the data was normally distributed ($p > 0.01$) across all groups when the status hierarchy between the groups was perceived as stable and legitimate (see Table 33). Similar findings were observed when the status hierarchy was perceived as unstable and illegitimate participants (see Table 34).

Table 33
Normal Distribution of Data in Gender and Racial Groups when the Status Hierarchy was Perceived as Stable and Legitimate as Indicated by the Shapiro-Wilks Test of Normality

Groups		R-Value	Degrees of Freedom
Racial Groups	White	.93	14
	Black	.93	20
Gender Groups	Male	.94	9
	Female	.92	12

Table 34

Normal Distribution of Data in Gender and Racial Groups when the Status Hierarchy was Perceived as Unstable and Illegitimate as Indicated by the Shapiro-Wilks Test of Normality

	Groups	R-Value	Degrees of Freedom
Racial Groups	White	.95	39
	Black	.99	36
Gender Groups	Male	.96	21
	Female	.95	46

Independent sample t-tests have been used to test for differences in attitudes towards preferential treatment for the third set of hypotheses. T-tests assume a normal distribution and are more likely to produce meaningful differences even when the group sizes are unequal (Field, 2009).

The dependent variable was attitudes towards preferential treatment and the grouping variable were racial and gender group respectively. The results of the independent sample t-tests are presented in Tables 35 and 36. To avoid Type 1 error, the Bonferroni correction was adopted. Given that the number of group comparison was four, the results were considered significant at a p -value of .0125 instead of .05.

The results of hypotheses 3 are presented in Table 35 for racial groups and Table 36 for gender groups.

Table 35

T-Test for the Differences in the Attitudes between White and Black Participants Who Perceived the Status Hierarchy between the Groups as Stable and Legitimate, as well as Unstable and Illegitimate

	t	Df	p-value	Mean Difference	SE Difference
Stable and Legitimate	-2.12*	32	.041	-5.76	.27
Unstable and Illegitimate	.11*	73	.081	-.36	.20

* Equal Variances were assumed by Levene's test for stable and legitimate ($F = 2.42, p = .13$) and for unstable and illegitimate ($F = 2.58, p = .11$)

Table 36

T-Test for the Differences in the Attitudes between Male and Female Participants Who Perceived the Status Hierarchy between the Groups as Stable and Legitimate, as well as Unstable and Illegitimate

	t	df	p-value	Mean Difference	SE Difference
Stable and Legitimate	.37*	19	.716	.13	.36
Unstable and Illegitimate	1.74*	65	.086	.44	.25

* Equal Variances were assumed by Levene's test for stable and legitimate ($F = .29, p = .60$) and for unstable and illegitimate ($F = 1.84, p = .79$)

No significant differences were observed in participants' attitudes towards preferential treatment for members of different racial and gender groups when the status hierarchy between the groups was perceived as stable and legitimate. Surprisingly, similar results were found when the hierarchy was perceived as unstable and illegitimate.

The descriptive statistics show that although both groups are not willing to accept preferential treatment, male and black participants were however more in favour of preferential treatment than white and female participants when the status hierarchy was seen as stable and legitimate. Similar findings were reported when the status hierarchy was seen as unstable and illegitimate. As none of these results were statistically significant it has to be concluded that both groups have the same attitudes towards preferential treatment. Hypotheses 3 are therefore not supported.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

This chapter will provide a summary of the main findings, a discussion of the results, an overview of the study's limitation and further recommendations, as well as concluding remarks.

5.1 Summary of Main Findings and Implications

This study sought to explore differences in employees' attitudes towards preferential treatment in organisations that were hypothesised to exist based on some of the tenets of Tajfel and Turner's (1979) social identity approach. In particular, group status, in-group identification, as well as the perceived stability and legitimacy of the status hierarchy between the groups were assessed from employees across South African organisations. Based on the statistics provided in the literature review, white and male South Africans were denoted the higher status groups, while black and female South Africans were classified as the lower status groups. This research hypothesised that employees from the higher status groups would be less willing than employees from the lower status groups to accept preferential treatment in organisations. In addition, it was assumed that the stronger employees identified with their in-group, the more willing employees from low status group would be and the less willing employees from high status groups would be to embrace preferential treatment. Furthermore, it was also assumed that employees from the higher and lower status groups would differ in their attitudes towards preferential treatment depending on the perceived stability and legitimacy of the status hierarchy between the groups. The results are outlined and discussed in the following sections.

5.1.1 Hypothesis 1- Attitudes towards preferential treatment in general.

The results showed that as expected, participants, on average, indeed did perceive black and female South Africans as the lower status groups with regards to socio-economic indicators, and white as well as male South Africans as the higher status groups.

In contrast to what was expected, both, high and low status group members did not endorse preferential treatment of female and black South Africans in the workplace. Nonetheless, as expected, the lower status group of black South Africans was more in favour of preferential treatment than white employees. However, the high status gender group, i.e. male

participants, were surprisingly more in favour of embracing preferential treatment than female participants. Hypothesis 1 was therefore only partially supported.

5.1.2 Hypotheses 2- Attitudes towards preferential treatment when in-group identification was considered.

Female and black participants as the lower status groups in general identified more strongly with their in-group than high status group members. It was also observed that white and black participants identified themselves more with their gender group than with their racial group.

In contrast to what was expected, there was no significant relationship between identification of the participants with their in-group and their willingness to embrace preferential treatment in general although the direction of the correlation for participants in the sample was as expected, with the exception of black participants. The stronger white, black and male participants identified with their in-group, the less in favour they were of preferential treatment. Females, on the other hand, were more in favour of preferential treatment when they identified strongly with their in-group. Because these results were not statistically significant, hypotheses 2 were therefore not supported.

5.1.3 Hypothesis 3- Attitudes towards preferential treatment when the stability and legitimacy of the status hierarchy were considered.

Considering participants' perceptions of the current and future social values of black, white, male and female South Africans, the results indicate that the status of black South Africans is expected to rise while that of white South Africans is expected fall. The status of female South Africans is expected to rise while that of male South Africans is expected to stay approximately the same.

The results also showed that most participants, particularly black and male participants, perceived the status hierarchy as unstable and illegitimate. Even though the descriptive statistics indicated that male and black participants were more in favour of preferential treatment than white and female participants when the status hierarchy was seen as stable and legitimate, as well as unstable and illegitimate, hypotheses 3 were not supported as it was not statistically significant. Irrespective of the perceived stability and legitimacy of the status

hierarchy, participants from racial and gender groups had the same attitudes towards preferential treatment.

5.2 Discussion of Results

In general, participants from both racial and gender groups were unwilling to embrace preferential treatment in organisations. However, some groups such as black and females were more in support of preferential treatment strategies than others. Although the outcomes of this study are in general not in line with SIT, they coincide with the findings of previous research conducted in South Africa. The unwillingness of white employees to accept preferential treatment could be explained by their perceptions of such EE strategies as a form of reverse discrimination (Thomas & Jain, 2004). In a cohort study by Finchilescu and Dawes (1998), white South African adolescents reported feelings of anxiety about unemployment and an insecure future. They perceived that they had fewer opportunities on the job market with the advent of EE strategies to re-dress previous inequalities. The small trend of some favouritism towards preferential treatment as shown by black and females in this research can be explained by SIT. Being the lower status group, such EE strategies are likely to assist black and female South Africans in enhancing their social identity. However, in general, the findings of this study contradict the assumptions of SIT.

SIT explains in-group favouritism to enhance an individual's social identity and self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In contrast to what was expected, most of the results did not support the theoretical assumptions of SIT. This could be because preferential treatment may actually not be related to the enhancement of the social identity and self-esteem of white, black, male and female South African employees. Given that employees from all groups assessed in this study are unwilling to accept preferential treatment, this may be an indication that such EE strategies might be negatively affecting their social identity. This argument could also explain the tendency of black and white employees to identify more with their gender than with their racial groups. SIT suggests that when an individual's identity associated to his/her in-group does not enhance his/her social identity and self-esteem, that group member may become disengaged and identify less with his/her group identity as shown by previous studies (Platow et al., 1990; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

While the unwillingness of white employees could be influenced by their resistance to threat to their social identity by SIT, the unwillingness of the members of the remaining groups are contradictory to the assumptions of SIT. One of the possible reasons why black and female employees are unwilling to embrace preferential treatment could be explained by stereotyped threats and a preference for meritocracy. Black and female individuals have often been associated with stereotypes of weakness, laziness and incompetence (Moskowitz, 2005; Turner, 1994). Black employees are also stigmatised as mere recipients of favours instead of merit through preferential treatment policies. Individuals often tend to personally endorse these stereotypes. Studies showed that individuals may associate these group stereotypes to personal shortcomings (Spears, Doosje & Ellemers, 1997; Zembre, Fiske & Hyun-Jeong, 2000). These stereotypes in turn may thwart their progress in their career and affect their personal and social identities, which consequently impact on their self-esteem. As a result, they tend to resent affirmative action (Nacoste, 1994; Thomas & Jain, 2004; Tsui, Egan & O'Reilly, 1992). The same reasoning applies for female employees. By accepting preferential treatment, black and female employees may therefore be only reinforcing stereotypes which affect their social and personal identities. Robins & Foster (1994) found that individuals tend to resist events that threaten their personal identity. It appears that preferential treatment may be more detrimental than beneficial to the self-esteem of black and female employees, thus explaining their unwillingness to accept this EE strategy.

In contrast to what was expected, male employees as the higher status group, although being unwilling to embrace preferential treatment, were yet more in favour of preferential treatment than female employees. This finding contradicts what was hypothesised in this research. It also contradicts the results of previous research, whereby men were found to be more resistant to preferential treatment in the workplace than women (Konrad & Hartmann, 2001; Konrad & Spitz, 2003; Krings, Tschan & Bettex, 2007). In these studies, men perceived that their high status as a group and their ego was being threatened by affirmative action. In the present study, men are more in favour of preferential treatment than women. The ascribed social values in this study indicate that the disparity between gender groups should be negligible in future. Participants in this research perceived the status of male South Africans to stay the same, while they expect that of female South Africans to rise.

One possible justification to the more favourable attitudes of male employees than female employees could be because men tend to have a higher self-esteem than women (Kling, Hyde, Showers & Buswell, 1999). Kling et al. (1999) showed that respondents with lower self-esteem believed that their self-interests are likely to be affected by affirmative action. Since affirmative action involves preferential treatment and men seem to have higher self-esteem, this may thus explain their more favourable attitudes to preferential treatment than women. In addition, men may not perceive preferential treatment as a threat to their social identity since their group status are unlikely to change as indicated by the future social values in this study. This finding may thus be explained by SIT's social creativity strategy. Since men are less likely to be negatively affected by preferential treatment, they may thus engage in benevolent behaviours by being supportive of preferential treatment towards women.

Yet another possible explanation of this particular finding could be from a self-interest perspective. Women and men have complemented each since the beginning of time and despite their differences, they have co-existed and supported each other in society. With the higher emancipation of women via education access and EE strategies providing more employment opportunities to women, the latter have become increasingly economically active. More men and women are turning into dual earning couples (Aryee & Luk, 1996; Papanek, 1973). Furthermore, men in a career-focussed couple are more likely to be more established in their career and have higher standards of living when their partners have good job opportunities (Becker & Moen, 1999). By being more supportive of preferential treatment in organisations, men might be more supportive of enhancing women's status in the society; thus, bettering their chances of enhancing their own living standards.

The flip side of this self-interest argument could explain the unwillingness of most black employees to embrace preferential treatment. Preferential treatment has been criticised to only serve the interests of a few, to the detriment of a larger number of black South Africans (Adam 1997). Preferential treatment has been perceived as a being a segregator amongst black South Africans, that is creating social class within the group and thus demarcating between rich and poor black South Africans. Only a small segment of the group- those who are better educated and well positioned, and hence need less assistance to secure a job- have benefitted most from it (Adam, 1997; Guillebeau, 1999). This has given rise to what Adam referred to as the "black bourgeoisie", where a small number of black South Africans are

benefitting most and becoming richer at the expense of other black South Africans. Preferential treatment may hence not be accepted by most black employees as it is creating gaps within their racial group.

Furthermore, the majority of participants in the sample used in this research were highly educated employees and had at least a first diploma or degree. This indicates that they were individuals living remarkably above the poverty line, which may provide an explanation for the unwillingness of employees to embrace preferential treatment in general. Employees who take survival for granted might be more concerned about the quality of their work life as compared to employees who strive for a living. Therefore, employees at the professional level may perceive recruitment and selection processes based on merit as being more important and fair than those based on preferential treatment. Hence, this may explain why black employees in general are not willing to embrace preferential treatment.

While previous studies (eg. Finchilescu & Dawes, 1998; Thomas & Jain, 2004) have looked at factors that influence individuals' willingness to embrace preferential treatment, these studies did not consider whether participants' strong identification with the in-group, as well as their perceptions of the stability and legitimacy of status hierarchy, would be moderators as done in this study. The findings of this research indicate that employees' strong identification is not related to their attitudes towards preferential treatment. One possible reason is that there might have been a restriction of range in the variability of scores. This means the sample was homogenous and consisted of only those who strongly identified with their in-group, thus limiting the scores to vary widely. Correlation is based on variability (Hunter & Schmidt, 2004; Thompson & Vacha-Haase, 2000). Thus when a correlation is computed from scores with a restricted range the correlation coefficient is attenuated, as compared to if it were computed from scores with an unrestricted range. However, this is unlikely as the descriptive statistics indicate that the standard deviations were close to 1, which indicates some variability in scores. For stability and legitimacy, the results are contradictory to SIT as participants in the sample had the same attitudes whether or not the status hierarchy was perceived as stable and legitimate. This could be due to the relatively small size per group. Nonetheless, the descriptive statistics show that the trend is still the same, that is, employees from both gender and racial groups are unwilling to embrace preferential treatment.

5.3 Practical Implications

The results of this research mostly contradict the assumptions of SIT used in this study. In contrast to what was expected, employees both higher and lower status groups are unwilling to embrace preferential treatment. As mentioned before, and based on the assumptions of SIT, this indicates that preferential treatment may not be related to the enhancement of the social identity of group members. As other studies have shown, it may actually be having a negative effect on the self-esteem of group members. While by opposing preferential treatment white South Africans may seek to resist the threats associated to this EE strategy, black and female South Africans are, on the other hand, against preferential treatment as it may not be enhancing their social identity and self-esteem. Given that the sample consisted mostly of qualified professionals, this may be an indication that preferential treatment at the professional level may not be the best strategy to re-dress past inequalities. More focus should perhaps be placed on other strategies, such as early investments in education of previously disadvantaged children to build a future which does not place either racial and gender groups at a disadvantaged or stigmatised position.

However, the statistics in Chapter 1 show that black and female South Africans are under-represented in the workplace and preferential treatment might still be a necessary evil to make them more representative. With the results of this research in mind, employers should be more cautious when planning and incorporating preferential treatment in their HR processes. They may, for instance, offer training workshops so that employees from different gender and racial groups have a shared understanding of preferential treatment in the organisation. Employers may consider providing support and coaching to both white and male employees, as well as black and female employees. They may also consider providing employees from higher and lower status groups the opportunities to express their concerns and anxieties. In so doing, employers may help employees from different racial and gender groups understand their role in transformation and dampen any associations of preferential treatment to a negative social identity and self-esteem.

5.4 Limitations and Further Recommendations

This research provides some useful insights about the attitudes of employees from different racial and gender groups towards EE strategies. The results should nonetheless be interpreted

in a broader context by considering other factors that could contribute to employees' unwillingness to embrace preferential treatment. One of these factors, for instance, is procedural fairness in implementing preferential strategies. Studies have shown that the implementation of preferential strategies with fairness in the organisation, such as weighing qualifications more than group membership, creates more buy-in from black and white employees (Estherhuizen, 2008; Murrell et al., 1994). Further research can look at including other factors into the conceptual framework used in this research.

A further major limitation of this study was the sample size. Although the sample size was deemed reasonable, a larger sample size would have nonetheless provided more in-depth results. South Africa consists of many racial groups. Due to the sample size, individuals from Asian, Coloured, Indian and Black participants were grouped into a superordinate black category. Thus, this may have hindered interesting insights from different racial groups. Additionally, an individual's racial and gender identity often goes hand-in-hand defining his social identity (Waters, 1996). A larger sample size would have permitted to explore the interaction effect of employees' racial and gender identity, such as black females versus white females, and how this influences their attitudes towards preferential treatment. This was however not the objective of the research, but remains a potential avenue to explore. Further studies may consider using a larger sample and consider the effects of intra-group relations. In addition, the sample size also consisted mostly of highly educated employees. Had a sample of low skilled or unskilled employees was used; the results might have been different. Future research may explore a sample of employees who are representative of the poorer local population.

5.5 Conclusion

South Africa's apartheid history created an imbalance between racial groups, and to a lesser extent gender groups. Since then, organisations have been attempting to re-dress past discrimination in line with the EE strategies as outlined by the legal framework. However, despite the efforts, statistics have shown that demographic changes to make employees from previously disadvantaged backgrounds more represented in the workplace remain slow. This study was conducted with the aim of exploring the factors that could contribute to that slow demographic change from a social identity perspective, by exploring employees' attitudes towards EE strategies, particularly preferential treatment. Despite certain limitations, this

research provided useful results which can assist employers in understanding how employees from different racial and gender groups react to preferential treatment. Most results contradicted the theoretical framework and were not in line with past research pertaining to attitudes towards EE. It seems after all that South Africans are not willing to accept preferential treatment, although black and male South Africans are more in support of the strategy than white and female South Africans. This may serve as a food for thought for organisational leaders. Based on the statistics, EE objectives have not been achieved yet and preferential treatment may still be required to reduce inequality among racial and gender groups. Organisations might therefore want to review how they plan and implement preferential treatment so that all racial and gender groups are more willing to accept them.

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APPENDIX A

Dear Participant

Thank you for giving some of your time for this research. This survey forms part of my Master's dissertation at the University of Cape Town. I am interested to know employees' opinions about social issues in organisations.

The survey consists of 4 sections (A to D) and should not take more than 15 minutes to complete.

This research has been approved by the University of Cape Town's Commerce Faculty Ethics in Research Committee.

Your participation in this research is voluntary. You can choose to withdraw from the research at any time.

This survey is anonymous and does not require your name or contact details. No one will be able to identify who you are. It is confidential and all data generated will be strictly used for academic purposes.

Try not to take too long to answer the questions as the best responses are usually instinctive. Be as prompt and honest as you can. There are no right or wrong answers. All questions assess your personal opinion. Please respond to every item.

**At the end of the survey you are entitled to participate in a lucky draw for a
R 1000 Woolworths voucher**

If you would like to participate, you will be directed to a separate page on which you can submit your email address. Your email address will solely be used for your participation in the lucky draw and it cannot be linked back to the responses you have provided.

If you have any queries, kindly contact me on njjsay001@myuct.ac.za.

Kind Regards

Aleeshah Nujjoo

Section A

Instruction: Select the most appropriate answer

1. To which gender would your friends say you belong to?

Male

Female

2. Which racial group would your colleagues say you belong to?

White

Indian

Black African

Coloured

Asian

3. How many years have you lived in South Africa?

Less than 6 months

1 year

2 years

3 years

4 years

5 years

6 years

More than 6 years

4. Please select your age

18-80

5. What is your highest Educational Qualification?

No qualification

Certificate

Diploma

Undergraduate

Honours

Masters

PHD

Other

6. Please select the sector you currently work in?

Private

Parastatal

Civil society

Governmental

Tertiary Institution

7. Please select your position in your company

Entry

Junior

Mid

Senior

8. How many years of work experience do you have?

Less than 6 months

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10+

9. How many employees report to you?

0-20

More than 20

Section B

For this Section, on a scale from 1-6 (1=*Strongly Disagree*, 6= *Strongly Agree*), please indicate your preference by selecting the answer which is most true to you

1. **Black professionals require special opportunities and treatment to overcome the disadvantages caused by the social, economic and racial discrimination experienced in the past**

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

2. **White professional women need special opportunities and treatment because they have to deal with a male dominated corporate culture that inherently discriminates against them**

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

3. **Due to the social, economic and educational discrimination experienced by black South Africans in the past, black and white South Africans do NOT compete on an equal footing. Thus in reality, equal opportunity does NOT result in giving everyone an equal chance**

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

4. **Black women as a group have been the target of racism AND sexism in the past. Accordingly, black women should be the primary beneficiaries of preferential strategies that aim at redressing past injustices**

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

5. **Giving black and not white South African professionals certain opportunities is necessary in order to equalise their chances of success within an organisation**

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

6. It is only fair that black professionals are now given special opportunities to compensate for the discrimination suffered in the past

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

7. The development of women, irrespective of race, is as important an issue as that of black development

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

8. There are certain occasions in an organisation when preferential treatment based on race is an acceptable employment practice

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

9. Preferential treatment of black professionals and professional women is an acceptable way of achieving a demographically balanced workforce

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

10. There are certain occasions in an organisation when preferential treatment based on gender is an acceptable employment practice

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

11. Preferential treatment is an acceptable policy when hiring black professionals

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

12. Preferential treatment is NOT an acceptable policy when promoting black professionals

Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree ☐ Somewhat Disagree ☐ Somewhat Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree ☐

13. Preferential treatment is NOT an acceptable policy when promoting females

Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree ☐ Somewhat Disagree ☐ Somewhat Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree ☐

14. Preferential treatment is acceptable when training black professionals

Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree ☐ Somewhat Disagree ☐ Somewhat Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree ☐

15. Preferential treatment means focusing on an individual's race and/or gender. This is NOT acceptable. In all employment practices, only the abilities of the person should be taken into consideration

Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree ☐ Somewhat Disagree ☐ Somewhat Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree ☐

16. In order to be able to ignore race and gender in employment decisions in the long-term we need to focus on race and gender in the short-term, such that people will have an equal chance of success

Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree ☐ Somewhat Disagree ☐ Somewhat Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree ☐

17. Whilst a basic level of competence is necessary, organisations need to lower the standards that they use when hiring black professionals. The lowering of standards under these circumstances is acceptable

Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree ☐ Somewhat Disagree ☐ Somewhat Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree ☐



18. **Workplace changes to comply with the employment equity policy undermine the effectiveness of an organisation because lesser-qualified black individuals are hired and/or promoted who cannot perform adequately on the job**

Strongly
Disagree



Disagree



Somewhat
Disagree



Somewhat
Agree



Agree



Strongly Agree



19. **Workplace changes to comply with the employment equity policy undermine the effectiveness of an organisation because lesser-qualified females are hired and/or promoted who cannot perform adequately on the job**

Strongly
Disagree



Disagree



Somewhat
Disagree



Somewhat
Agree



Agree



Strongly Agree



20. **Workplace changes to comply with employment equity policy is reverse discrimination because black professionals are now preferred above white professionals in training opportunities and hiring and promotion decisions**

Strongly
Disagree



Disagree



Somewhat
Disagree



Somewhat
Agree



Agree



Strongly Agree



21. **Workplace changes to comply with the employment equity policy is reverse discrimination because female professionals are now preferred above male professionals in training opportunities and hiring and promotion decisions**

Strongly
Disagree



Disagree



Somewhat
Disagree



Somewhat
Agree



Agree



Strongly Agree



Section C

1. On a scale from 1 to 10, please indicate how you identify yourself with being the following *(If it is not applicable to you, that is you do not identify with the term at all, please indicate)*

Not
Applicable

	01	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Indian											<input type="checkbox"/>
Male											<input type="checkbox"/>
White											<input type="checkbox"/>
Female											<input type="checkbox"/>
Coloured											<input type="checkbox"/>
Black African											<input type="checkbox"/>
Asian											<input type="checkbox"/>

2. From the above, the group you identify yourself most with, that is, the group where you have the highest score is:

Indian

Male

White

Female

Coloured

Black African

Asian

3. Read the following statements and decide how often you feel the way described in them

	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Always
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. I am a person who considers that being _____ is important	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. I am a person who identifies with being _____	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. I am a person who feels strong ties with being _____	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. I am a person who is glad to be _____	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. I am a person who sees myself as being _____	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. I am a person who makes excuses to be _____	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. I am a person who tries to hide my identity as _____ an _____ person	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. I am a person who feels held back by being _____	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. I am a person who is annoyed to say I'm _____	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. I am a person who criticises _____ as a group in society	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Section D

In this section you will be asked to please indicate **your** opinion about where particular groups **in general**

1. **CURRENTLY STANDS**
2. **WILL STAND IN 5 YEARS' TIME**
3. **SHOULD STAND IN AN IDEAL WORLD**

with regard to food, homes, health care, wealth, status, political power and jobs. Do so by selecting the number which portrays your opinion best.

1. For this question, please indicate your opinion about where **BLACK** South Africans **CURRENTLY** stand in general with regard to food, homes, health care, etc. Do so by selecting the number which portrays your opinion best.

	-1	-2	-3	1	2	3	
worst possible access to nutrition/ food	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible access to nutrition/ food
worst possible homes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible homes
worst possible health care	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible health care
least possible wealth	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible wealth
least possible status	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible status
least possible political power	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible political power
worst possible jobs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible jobs

2. For this question, please indicate your opinion about where **BLACK** South Africans **WILL stand in FUTURE (5 YEAR'S TIME)** with regard to food, homes, health care, etc. Do so by selecting the number which portrays your opinion best.

	-1	-2	-3	1	2	3	
worst possible access to nutrition/ food	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible access to nutrition/ food
worst possible homes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible homes
worst possible health care	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible health care
least possible wealth	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible wealth
least possible status	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible status
least possible political power	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible political power
worst possible jobs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible jobs

3. For this question, please indicate your opinion about where **BLACK** South Africans **SHOULD** stand **IDEALLY** with regard to food, homes, health care, etc. Do so by selecting the number which portrays your opinion best.

	-1	-2	-3	1	2	3	
worst possible access to nutrition/ food	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible access to nutrition/ food
worst possible homes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible homes
worst possible health care	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible health care
least possible wealth	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible wealth
least possible status	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible status
least possible political power	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible political power
worst possible jobs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible jobs

4. For this question, please indicate your opinion about where WHITE South Africans CURRENTLY stand in general with regard to food, homes, health care, etc. Do so by selecting the number which portrays your opinion best.

	-1	-2	-3	1	2	3	
worst possible access to nutrition/ food	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible access to nutrition/ food
worst possible homes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible homes
worst possible health care	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible health care
least possible wealth	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible wealth
least possible status	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible status
least possible political power	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible political power
worst possible jobs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible jobs

5. For this question, please indicate your opinion about where WHITE South Africans WILL stand in FUTURE (5 YEAR'S TIME) with regard to food, homes, health care, etc. Do so by selecting the number which portrays your opinion best.

	-1	-2	-3	1	2	3	
worst possible access to nutrition/ food	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible access to nutrition/ food
worst possible homes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible homes
worst possible health care	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible health care
least possible wealth	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible wealth
least possible status	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible status
least possible political power	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible political power
worst possible jobs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible jobs

6. For this question, please indicate your opinion about where WHITE South Africans SHOULD stand IDEALLY with regard to food, homes, health care, etc. Do so by selecting the number which portrays your opinion best.

	-1	-2	-3	1	2	3	
worst possible access to nutrition/ food	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible access to nutrition/ food
worst possible homes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible homes
worst possible health care	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible health care
least possible wealth	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible wealth
least possible status	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible status
least possible political power	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible political power
worst possible jobs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible jobs

7. For this question, please indicate your opinion about where **MALE** South Africans **CURRENTLY** stand in general with regard to food, homes, health care, etc. Do so by selecting the number which portrays your opinion best.

	-1	-2	-3	1	2	3	
worst possible access to nutrition/ food	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible access to nutrition/ food
worst possible homes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible homes
worst possible health care	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible health care
least possible wealth	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible wealth
least possible status	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible status
least possible political power	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible political power
worst possible jobs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible jobs

8. For this question, please indicate your opinion about where MALE South Africans WILL stand in FUTURE (5 YEAR'S TIME) with regard to food, homes, health care, etc. Do so by selecting the number which portrays your opinion best.

	-1	-2	-3	1	2	3	
worst possible access to nutrition/ food	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible access to nutrition/ food
worst possible homes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible homes
worst possible health care	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible health care
least possible wealth	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible wealth
least possible status	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible status
least possible political power	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible political power
worst possible jobs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible jobs

9. For this question, please indicate your opinion about where **MALE** South Africans **SHOULD** stand **IDEALLY** with regard to food, homes, health care, etc. Do so by selecting the number which portrays your opinion best.

	-1	-2	-3	1	2	3	
worst possible access to nutrition/ food	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible access to nutrition/ food
worst possible homes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible homes
worst possible health care	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible health care
least possible wealth	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible wealth
least possible status	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible status
least possible political power	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible political power
worst possible jobs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible jobs

10. For this question, please indicate your opinion about where **FEMALE** South Africans **CURRENTLY** stand in general with regard to food, homes, health care, etc. Do so by selecting the number which portrays your opinion best.

	-1	-2	-3	1	2	3	
worst possible access to nutrition/ food	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible access to nutrition/ food
worst possible homes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible homes
worst possible health care	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible health care
least possible wealth	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible wealth
least possible status	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible status
least possible political power	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible political power
worst possible jobs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible jobs

11. For this question, please indicate your opinion about where FEMALE South Africans WILL stand in FUTURE (5 YEAR'S TIME) with regard to food, homes, health care, etc. Do so by selecting the number which portrays your opinion best.

	-1	-2	-3	1	2	3	
worst possible access to nutrition/ food	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible access to nutrition/ food
worst possible homes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible homes
worst possible health care	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible health care
least possible wealth	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible wealth
least possible status	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible status
least possible political power	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible political power
worst possible jobs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible jobs

12. For this question, please indicate your opinion about where **FEMALE** South Africans **SHOULD** stand **IDEALLY** with regard to food, homes, health care, etc. Do so by selecting the number which portrays your opinion best.

	-1	-2	-3	1	2	3	
worst possible access to nutrition/ food	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible access to nutrition/ food
worst possible homes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible homes
worst possible health care	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible health care
least possible wealth	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible wealth
least possible status	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible status
least possible political power	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	most possible political power
worst possible jobs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	best possible jobs

APPENDIX B

Item Loadings for the Attitudes towards Demographic Change Scale after items 3 and 7 were removed

Item Number	Factor		
	1	2	3
11	.736		
14	.675		
9	.619		
4	.603		
10	.601		
6	.595		
8	.572		
5	.554		
1	.550		
2	.521		
17	.514		
12	.480	-.324	-.324
15	.460	-.403	
13	.453		
16	.374		
18		-.788	
20		-.724	
19		-.702	
21		-.599	

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.

Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalisation.^a

a. Rotation converged in 9 iterations.

APPENDIX C

Item Loadings for the Attitudes towards Demographic Change Scale after items 3, 7, 12, and 15 were removed

Item Number	Factor		
	1	2	3
11	.794		
6	.779		
9	.756		
5	.687		
14	.671		
18	.665	-.500	
20	.663	-.422	
4	.650		
8	.632		
13	.600		
1	.589		
19	.583	-.412	
10	.522	.308	.340
16	.457		
21	.432	-.375	
17	.415		
2	.363		

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.

a. 3 factors extracted. 9 iterations required.